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ABSTRACT

The theme of the 1976 Urban League Conference was "a new bill of rights" for all Americans. Rights of blacks and other minority groups were particularly emphasized. The subject of the right to black representation in the American political system was addressed by Samuel Du Bois Cook. The keynote address by Vernon E. Jordan, Jr. considered such issues as the rights of all citizens to education, economic security, health, family stability, political representation, and the right to safe communities. Andrew Billingsley, James G. Haughton, Andrew F. Brimmer, Edythe J. Gaines, and Thomas A. Bradley all spoke to at least one of these issues. Carla Hill's address reviewed the progress of federal urban programs in the year preceding the Conference. Henry Kissinger spoke about foreign affairs, particularly the U.S. relationship with Africa. W.J. Usery, Jr. and William M. Ellinghaus stressed black participation in the American private enterprise system. Yvonne Braithwaite Burke, Arthur A. Fletcher, Hubert H. Humphrey, and Charles McC. Mathias discussed the role of black voters in the 1976 presidential race. John Hope Franklin mentioned important events in the history of black Americans. The introductions, texts, and discussions of all the above mentioned speeches are included in this document. Also included are texts of press conferences held, statements of concern released by the Urban League, lists of Conference exhibitors, and a listing of League members and Conference participants. (GC)

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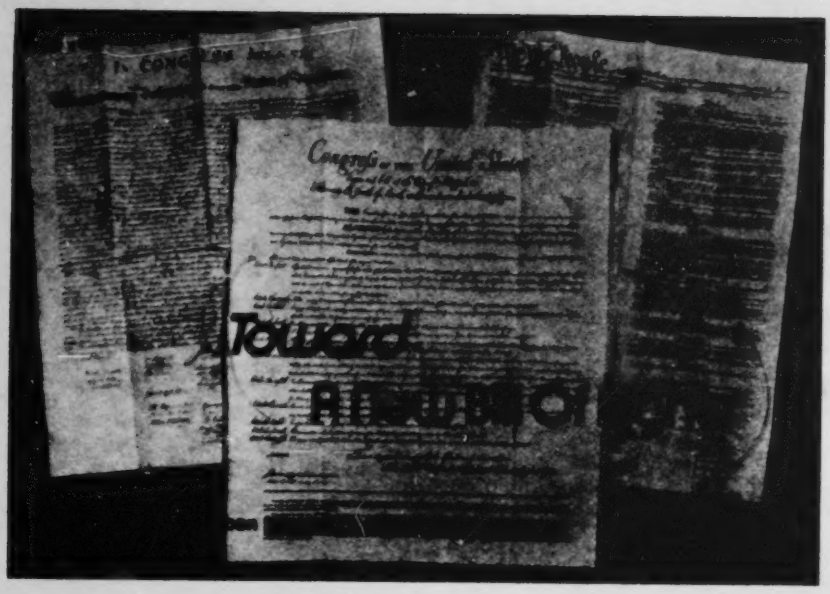

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000 3

GUIDE TO CONTENTS

Part One

Page

COMMEMORATIVE CEREMONY 1
"And This Is Our Legacy"
Featuring: Ossie Davis and Ruby Dee
Lerone Bennett
The New Temple Singers
Invocation: Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Benediction: Reverend John E. Brandon

COUNCIL OF URBAN LEAGUE GUILDS LUNCHEON 11
Presiding: Erma M. Davis
Invocation: Reverend Peter J. Gomes
Guest Speaker: Toni Morrison
Benediction: Reverend Monsignor George V. Kerr

THE RIGHT TO REPRESENTATION 21
Presiding: Ronald H. Brown
Guest Speaker: Samuel DuBois Cook
Panelists: John Wilkes
Basil A. Paterson

KEYNOTE SESSION 35
Presiding: Donald H. McGannon
Invocation: Reverend Dr. Robert W. Golledge
Welcome: Walter J. Leonard
The Honorable Edward M. Kennedy
Response: Joyce A. Hughes
Keynote Address: Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Special Presentation
Benediction: Dr. Michael E. Haynes

THE RIGHT TO FAMILY STABILITY 51
Presiding: Lucy Wilson Benson
Introduction: Donald H. McGannon
Welcome: The Honorable Michael S. Dukakis
Guest Speaker: Andrew Billingsley

FEDERAL RESOURCES LUNCHEON 59
Presiding: Donald H. McGannon
Invocation: The Reverend Floyd H. Flake
Welcome: The Honorable Kevin H. White
Guest Speaker: The Honorable Carla A. Hills
Benediction: The Reverend Peter Y. Q. Shih

THE RIGHT TO HEALTH 67
Presiding: Jeanne Spurlock
Guest Speaker: James G. Haughton

SPECIAL EVENING SESSION: FOREIGN AFFAIRS 73
Presiding: Donald H. McGannon
Guest Speaker: The Honorable Henry A. Kissinger

Page

THE RIGHT TO ECONOMIC SECURITY 85
Presiding: James B. Farley
Guest Speaker: Andrew F. Brimmer

BUSINESS AND LABOR LUNCHEON 93
Presiding: Coy Eklund
Invocation: Dr. Rena Karefa-Smart
Guest Speakers: The Honorable W. J. Usery, Jr.
William M. Ellinghaus
Benediction: The Reverend Paul P. Rynne

THE RIGHT TO EDUCATION 103
Presiding: Daniel A. Collins
Guest Speaker: Edythe J. Gaines

THE PRESIDENTIAL RACE AND THE BLACK VOTER 111
Moderator: Chuck Stone
Participants: The Honorable Yvonne Braithwaite Burke
Arthur A. Fletcher
The Honorable Hubert H. Humphrey
The Honorable Charles McC. Mathias
Journalists: Lovell Dyett
Robert L. Healy
Mal Johnson

THE RIGHT TO SAFE COMMUNITIES 131
Presiding: Ronald R. Davenport
Guest Speaker: The Honorable Thomas A. Bradley
Discussion Panel: Moderator: Lee P. Brown
Panelists: A. Reginald Eaves
Sister Falaka Fattah
The Honorable Kenneth A. Gibson
Milton L. Luger
Harry Spikes

CONFERENCE DINNER 145
Presiding: Donald H. McGannon
Invocation: Bishop Edward G. Carroll, Sr.
Presentations: Service Awards
Ann Tanneyhill Award
Introduction of Guest Speaker: The Honorable William T. Coleman
Guest Speaker: Dr. John Hope Franklin
Closing Remarks: Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Benediction: The Reverend James Coleman

PRESS CONFERENCES 157
Keynote and Briefing
No Economic Recovery for Blacks
Housing and Urban Development
The Right to Equal Employment Opportunities
Wrap-up of Conference

Part Two

Page

STATEMENTS OF CONCERN 186

Citizenship Education

Crime and Crime Prevention

Economic Development

Employment

General Revenue Sharing

Health

School Financing

School Integration

School Pushouts/Dropouts

Urban Policy

Housing

United Way

Southern Africa

LIST OF EXHIBITORS 201

NATIONAL CONFERENCE PLANNING COMMITTEE

LOCAL HOST COMMITTEE

NUL STAFF RESOURCE

CONFERENCE DEPARTMENT

THE URBAN LEAGUE OF EASTERN MASSACHUSETTS

NUL BOARD OF DIRECTORS

NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE, INC.

Sunday, August 1, 1976 — 9:00 a.m.

"And This Is Our Legacy"

Mr. Jordan: Please rise for the invocation.
God of our weary years,
God of our silent tears,
Thou who has brought us this far on our way,
Thou who has by Thy might
Led us into the light,
Keep us forever in Thy path, we pray.
Lest our feet stray from the places our God where we met thee,
Lest our hearts drunk with the wine of the world, we forget thee;
Shadowed beneath Thy hand,
May we forever stand
True to our God,
True to our native land.

God of us all, as we're assembled in this first official session of the Sixty-sixth Annual National Urban League Conference, we invoke the immortal words of James Weldon Johnson; words written as the invocation and the benediction for our meeting about freedom. We lift our hearts and souls oh God to Thee in thanksgiving, in thanksgiving for life and for the opportunity to serve mankind through this Thine instrument, the Urban League. God, we want you to know that we are meeting in Boston. We want You to know that some didn't want us to come. We want You to know that others stayed away in fear. But we also want You to know that we are here more than eight thousand of us, to deal with the freedom agenda and as we do, oh God, we invite You to our Conference.

For in the words of the old Negro spiritual, we petition you, "to come by here, oh Lord, come by here." Be with us, stand by us and protect us from all hurt, harm or danger.

Yes, guard our feet Lord, while we run this race, cause we don't want to run this race in vain.

We call to memory our legacy this morning. A legacy of trials and tribulations, of deprivation and dehumanization, when we remember that no matter how difficult a task, no matter how crooked the way, no matter how dangerous the road, through the years we kept on keeping on, keeping the faith, and every round went higher and higher, because of the memory of our fallen leaders of yesteryear and yesterday, those courageous and dedicated black men and women who blazed a mighty trail and who bequeathed us an irrevocable legacy of commitment and service. Lest we forget the leaders, lest we forget those who follow, lest we forget our legacy.

Come by here Lord, come by here. Be present in our midst and be for us what You were for our forefathers, be our rock in a weary land, be our shelter in a time of storm. This is our prayer. Amen.

NARRATOR: (Ms. Dee): We come together this morning to commemorate our past, and in so doing to rediscover the legacy of sacrifice and courage left us by brave

Invocation:

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Executive Director
National Urban League

Featuring:

Ossie Davis,
Playwright, Director, Actor

Ruby Dee,
Star of Stage, Motion Pictures, Television, Radio

Introduction of Guest Speaker:

Joyce A. Hughes,
NUL Trustee and 1976 Conference General Chairperson; Professor, Northwestern University School of Law

Lerone Bennett,
Historian, Author, and Senior Editor of Johnson Publications

The New Temple Singers,
St. Paul AME Church

Benediction:

The Reverend John E. Brandon
Pastor, St. Paul AME Church

Ruby Dee

black men and women who shared a common dream of what this nation should be. The dream persists, still unfulfilled.

From the past, we still hear their voices, reminding us that our struggle for freedom did not begin on a bridge in Selma or the streets of Birmingham, but that it extends back to a time when America was not yet a nation; when enslaved Africans fought to break free of the chains that shackled them, even if the search for freedom meant death.

There is a magnificent continuity about the black struggle that is a testament to our strength of purpose that no slave master's whip could beat out of us, that no lyncher could consume in flames, that want and deprivation could not destroy. It has persisted unto our time.

Our past is to be treasured as a precious legacy. With heads held high we celebrate our history, for we have given much to this nation called America. No other people have labored so hard, against such awesome odds, to make real the words of the documents which constitute the bedrock of America: those documents which say that "all men are created equal."

Our efforts began long ago. We have never submitted willingly to the racism that stains the soul of this land. In 1829, in this very city of Boston, a black man, David Walker, set pen to paper and with a flame searing his heart wrote the prophetic words of "An Appeal to the Colored Citizens of the World."

No black man had ever written such a savage attack on racism and slavery. Much of white America called this black man mad. But he spoke as a wise man and his words still ring with the clear sound of truth.

DAVID WALKER (Mr. Davis): They think because they hold us in their infernal chains of slavery, that we wish to be white, or of their color — but they are dreadfull deceived — we wish to be just as it pleased our Creator to have made us, and no avaricious and unmerciful wretches, have any business to make slaves of, or hold us in slavery. How would they like for us to make slaves of, and hold them in cruel slavery, and murder them as they do us?

Americans! Notwithstanding you have and do continue to treat us more cruel than any heathen nation ever did a people it had subjected to the same condition that you have us. Now let us reason — I mean you of the United States, whom I believe God designs to save from destruction, if you will hear. I say, let us reason. Had you not better take our body, while you have it in your power, and while we are yet ignorant and wretched, not knowing but a little. Remember Americans, that we must and shall be free and enlightened as you are. Will you wait until we shall, under God, obtain our liberty by the crushing arm of power? Will it not be dreadful for you? I speak Americans for your good. We must and shall be free I say, in spite of you. You may do your best to keep us in wretchedness and misery, to enrich you and your children, but God will deliver us from under you. And wo, wo, will be to you if we have to obtain our freedom by fighting. Throw away your fears and prejudices then, and enlighten us and treat us like men, and we will like you more than we do now hate you, and tell us now no more about colonization, for America is as much our country, as it is yours.

Treat us like men, and there is no danger, but we will all live in peace and happiness together. For we are not like you, hard-hearted, unmerciful, and unforgiving. What a happy country this will be, if the whites will listen. What nation under heaven, will be able to do any thing with us, unless God gives us up into its hand? But Americans, I declare to you, while you keep us and our children in bondage, and treat us like brutes, to make us support you and your families, we cannot be your friends. You do not look for it, do you? Treat us then like men, and we will be your friends. And there is not a doubt in my mind, but that the whole of the past will be sunk into oblivion, and we yet, under God, will become a united and happy people. The whites may say it is impossible, but remember that nothing is impossible with God.

NEW TEMPLE SINGERS: "I Told Jesus"

NARRATOR: (Ms. Dee): It is right to question whether black Americans should join in the celebration of America's Bicentennial. It is right to point out the inconsistencies of what America professes and what she practices. American independence did not bring freedom to blacks. This would take another war to accomplish, and even

then, the task would be incomplete. Black Americans have never been deluded about the realities of this country. They have seen through the myths and the shams to reach the inconsistencies between what America professes and what she has practiced. Black Americans have continually called on America to redeem her soul by making true her promises. When the good people of Rochester asked Frederick Douglass to deliver the 4th of July oration in 1852, their ears may not have been prepared for what they were to hear. His words were not the usual banal, super patriotic utterings from which such speeches are usually fashioned. His words spoke to America's shame; to a different view of Independence Day; to freedom yet to come.

Ossie Davis

FREDERICK DOUGLASS (Mr. Davis): Fellow citizens above your national, tumultuous joy, I hear the mournful wail of millions, whose chains heavy and grievous yesterday, are today rendered more intolerable by the jubilant shouts that reach them. If I do forget, if I do not remember those bleeding children of sorrow this day, "may my right hand forget her cunning and may my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth!"

To forget them, to pass lightly over their wrongs, and to chime in with the popular theme, would be treason most scandalous and shocking, and would make me a reproach before God and the world. My subject, then, fellow citizens, is "American Slavery." I shall see this day and its popular characteristics from the slave's point of view. Standing here, identified with the American bondman, making his wrongs mine, I do not hesitate to declare, with all my soul, that the character and conduct of this nation never looked blacker to me than on this Fourth of July. Whether we turn to the declarations of the past, or to the professions of the present, the conduct of the nation seems equally hideous and revolting.

America is false to the past, false to the present, and solemnly binds herself to be false to the future. Standing with God and the crushed and bleeding slave on this occasion, I will, in the name of humanity, which is outraged, in the name of liberty, which is fettered, in the name of the Constitution and the Bible, which are disregarded and trampled upon, dare to call in question and to denounce, with all the emphasis I can command, everything that serves to perpetuate slavery — the great sin and shame of America! "I will not equivocate; I will not excuse!" I will use the severest language I can command, and yet not one word shall escape me that any man, whose judgment is not blinded by prejudice, or who is not at heart a slaveholder, shall not confess to be right and just.

What to the American slave is your Fourth of July? I answer, a day that reveals to him more than all other days of the year, the gross injustice and cruelty to which he is the constant victim. To him your celebration is a sham; your boasted liberty an unholy license; your national greatness, swelling vanity; your sounds of rejoicing are empty and heartless; your denunciation of tyrants, brass-fronted impudence; your shouts of liberty and equality, hollow mockery; your prayers and hymns, your sermons and thanksgiving, with all your religious parade and solemnity, are to him mere bombast, fraud, deception, impiety, and hypocrisy — a thin veil to cover up crimes which would disgrace a nation of savages. There is not a nation of the earth guilty of practices more shocking and bloody than are the people of these United States at this very hour.

Go where you may, search where you will, roam through all the monarchies and despotism of the Old World, travel through South America, search out every abuse and when you have found the last, lay your facts by the side of the every-day practices of this nation, and you will say with me that, for revolting barbarity and shameless hypocrisy, America reigns without a rival.

NEW TEMPLE SINGERS: "The Lord Has Brought Us A Mighty Long Way"

NARRATOR: (Mr. Davis): In her lifetime, especially in her later years, she was called "America's First Negro Lady." Mary McLeod Bethune was more than a first lady to one people; she was a first lady to the world; for in her heart was a boundless love for freedom and all mankind. In her veins ran the blood of former slaves. She was proud of her blackness and wore it as a badge of honor. She was a doer and a dreamer. As she neared the end of her life, she set down her legacy for those who would remain behind and those still to come. Like other figures from the past, she kept the torch of the struggle for freedom aflame, passing it into other hands. Her legacy is an imperishable gift that still inspires, that still tells the story of how much

we owe to those who have preceded us.

MARY McLEOD BETHUNE (Ms. Dee): Sometimes as I sit communing in my study I feel that death is not far off. I am aware that it will overtake me before the greatest of my dreams — full equality for the Negro in our time — is realized. Yet, I face that reality without tears or regrets. I am resigned to death as all humans must be at the proper time. Death neither alarms nor frightens one who has had a long career of fruitful toil. The knowledge that my work has been helpful to many fills me with joy and great satisfaction.

Truly, my worldly possessions are few. Yet, my experiences have been rich. From them, I have distilled principles and policies in which I believe firmly, for they represent the meaning of my life's work. They are the product of much sweat and sorrow. Perhaps in them there is something of value. So, as my life draws to a close, I will pass them on to the Negroes everywhere in the hope that an old woman's philosophy may give them inspiration. Here, then, is my legacy.

I leave you love. Love builds. It is positive and helpful. It is more beneficial than hate. Injuries quickly forgotten quickly pass away. Personally and racially, our enemies must be forgiven. Our aim must be to create a world of fellowship and justice where no man's skin, color or religion, is held against him.

I leave you hope. The Negro's growth will be great in the years to come. Yesterday, our ancestors endured the degradation of slavery, yet they retained their dignity. Today, we direct our economic and political strength toward winning a more abundant and secure life. Tomorrow, a new Negro, unhindered by race taboos and shackles, will benefit from more than 300 years of ceaseless striving and struggle. Theirs will be a better world. This I believe with all my heart.

I leave you the challenge of developing confidence in one another. As long as Negroes are hemmed into racial blocs by prejudice and pressure, it will be necessary for them to band together for economic betterment. Economic separatism cannot be tolerated in this enlightened age, and it is not practicable. We must spread out as far and as fast as we can, but we must also help each other as we go.

I leave you a thirst for education. Knowledge is the prime need of the hour. More and more, Negroes are taking full advantage of hard-won opportunities for learning, and the educational level of the Negro population is at its highest point in history. If we continue in this trend, we will be able to rear increasing numbers of strong, purposeful men and women, equipped with vision, mental clarity, health and education.

I leave you a respect for the uses of power. We live in a world which respects power above all things. Power, intelligently directed, can lead to more freedom. Unwisely directed; it can be a dreadful, destructive force.

I leave you faith. Faith is the first factor in a life devoted to service. Without faith, nothing is possible. With it, nothing is impossible. Faith in God is the greatest power, but great, too, is faith in oneself. Our forefathers struggled for liberty in conditions far more onerous than those we now face, but they never lost the faith. Their perseverance paid rich dividends. We must never forget their sufferings and their sacrifices, for they were the foundations of the progress of our people.

I leave you racial dignity. I want Negroes to maintain their human dignity at all costs. We, as Negroes, must recognize that we are the custodians as well as the heirs of a great civilization.

I leave you a desire to live harmoniously with your fellow men. The problem of color is world-wide. It is found in Africa and Asia, Europe and South America. I appeal to American Negroes — North, South, East and West — to recognize their common problems and unite to solve them.

I leave you finally a responsibility to our young people. The world around us really belongs to youth for youth will take over its future management. Our children must never lose their zeal for building a better world. They must not be discouraged from aspiring toward greatness, for they are to be the leaders of tomorrow. Nor must they forget that the masses of our people are still underprivileged, ill-housed, impoverished and victimized by discrimination. We have a powerful potential in our youth, and we must have the courage to change old ideas and practices so that we may direct the power toward good ends.

Faith, courage, brotherhood, dignity, ambition, responsibility — these are needed today as never before. We must cultivate them and use them as tools for our task of completing the establishment of equality for the Negro. We must sharpen these tools in the

struggle that faces us and find new ways of using them. The Freedom Gates are half ajar. We must pry them fully open.

I have a legacy to leave my people, it is my philosophy of living and serving. As I face tomorrow, I am content, for I think I have spent my life well. I pray now that my philosophy may be helpful to those who share my vision of a world of Peace, Progress, Brotherhood and Love.

NEW TEMPLE SINGERS: "His Eye Is On the Sparrow"

Ms. Hughes: Ossie Davis and Ruby Dee are not only consummate performers, their committment to our struggle for freedom and their service to the black community has been always been total. Thank you, Ossie and Ruby.

In this Bicentennial year no celebration of the deeds and dreams of black Americans would be complete without turning back the pages of history to March 5, 1770, shortly after 8 o'clock that evening, in the city of Boston. Armed British soldiers faced a crowd of people. As Lerone Bennett describes it; "In the center of this group stood a giant. He was six feet two and looked taller. He had large powerful arms and big hands, with a look that was enough to terrify any person. When he spoke, men listened, when he commanded, men acted. After escaping from slavery, he went to sea and was well known about the docks of Philadelphia. This native of Framingham, Mass. was not a proper Bostonian but he was a man who loved freedom and knew what it was worth. On that day, in 1770, the day of the Boston Massacre, this man, Crispus Attucks became the first American to die in the struggle for independence."

The legacy of this man, this black man has been crystallized with continuing ceremonies by the Boston Equal Rights League. This dedicated group takes its name from the organization launched by William Monroe Trotter, founder of the Boston Guardian and an uncompromising advocate of equal rights for black Americans. As we convene to move *Toward A New Bill of Rights*, it is appropriate that a token of recognition be presented to the Co-Chairperson of the Boston Equal Rights League, Attorney Keesler Montgomery. This symbol is to be placed in the Museum of Afro-American History in Roxbury to provide tangible evidence by which future generations can know that on August 1, 1976 at its 66th Annual Convention, the National Urban League celebrated the legacy of Crispus Attucks.

"It was in August, 344 years before the March On Washington. 346 years before Watts and 212 years before Nat Turner's war, that a Dutch man of war sailed the River James and landed the first generation of black Americans at Jamestown, Virginia. This ship brought the black gold that made capitalism possible in America."

Thus wrote Lerone Bennett, Jr. in the **Shaping of Black America.** He might have added: that ship contained the seeds of a journalist who has eyes that see, ears that hear, a heart that understands and a pen that flows.

As he writes, this black American historian keeps alive our legacy, exposes the lies, announces the truth, and re-affirms the strengths, genius and visions contained in those twenty seeds. Those with ears to hear listen well to the distinguished historian Lerone Bennett, Jr. as he illuminates our legacy and unfolds our promise.

Mr. Bennett: Thank you very much Ms. Hughes for those generous words. I hope you will relax. I will not be long.

Brother Jordan, Sister Ruby, Brother Ossie, Brothers, Sisters, Citizens, I'm very happy to have this opportunity to visit again, the National Urban League. As I've said so many times in so many places, the Urban League is the embodiment of the deepest principles and ideals of the American creed, and if this guilty nation had heeded the warnings and pleas of the Urban League many years ago, we would be talking about a different Bicentennial, in a different Boston, in a different country.

It is an honor for me to be associated in this way with you and your brilliant

Lerone Bennett

young leader, Vernon Jordan. If we are saved in this country, and it is by no means certain that we will be saved, but if we are saved in this country, we will be saved by men and women who share your passion and your principles. I wanted to make that point at this commemorative ceremony because in the deepest sense, we praise the dead for the sake of the living.

We say brave words over open graves to open doors — and dungeons for live bodies on the edge of the grave.

We commemorate in order to liberate.

We speak to and for the dead, because the dead speak to and for us, and because the living — as our African forefathers knew — need the dead, who live and speak and teach.

And so we have gathered here this morning to meditate on the meaning of the spirit of our forefathers. But if we truly seek the meaning of the black spirit, if we truly seek the meaning of the black dead, the black living, and the black unborn, then we must seek it not here or there but everywhere. For the spirit our ancestors has entered into the soul of this land, and there will be no peace, no joy, no love, no salvation for this guilty land until it redeems the compact it made with the spirit of the great black spirits, who made a compact with this land.

It is in that spirit, and with that understanding, that we invoke the spirit of Crispus Attucks and the other black founding fathers and mothers. And it is very appropriate for us to invoke that spirit in this place at this time. For this is Boston, the cradle, they say, of American freedom, and this is the Bicentennial, the 200th anniversary, they say, of American freedom, and we are the sons and daughters of a people who have never known freedom in Boston, or anywhere else in this land. There could be no more meaningful act, no more relevant act, in this Bicentennial year, than for us to gather here, near the famous hill and the famous bridge, to remind ourselves and to remind others how much we owe the black founding fathers. It's not necessary really for us to say anything. It is enough for us to be here. It is enough for us to say with our bodies, and our needs, that the Declaration of Independence has no meaning and can have no meaning for us to bring the American Revolution home in this Bicentennial Year by bringing Crispus Attucks and the black patriots and founders home and by presenting their due bill and claim.

And so we are here this morning, not as aliens, but as **heirs** presenting just claims.

We are here, not as beggars, but as inheritors, seeking that which is ours by birthright, and that which our forefathers paid for, over and over and over again, with rivers of blood.

Let there be no mistake about that!

We do not come to Boston as beggars; we come, in this Bicentennial Year, as men, and as women, reminding other men and women of a 200-year-old debt on which neither the capital nor the interest has been paid.

We come, not as beggars, but as descendants of the black founding fathers who ran the first leg of this great adventure by clearing the forests, tilling the fields and shaping the music and the spirit of the people.

We come, not as beggars, but as descendants of the men and women whose agony created the capital that made capitalism possible in Boston and New York and New Orleans and Charleston.

Not as beggars, but as the sons and daughters of patriots and founders, without whose help, without whose hand, without whose spirit, the nation could not have endured or prospered.

Not as beggars!

We do not come as beggars; we come as builders, dreamers, doers, and keepers of the flame.

And we come, in the 200th year of the absence of the dream, not to denounce America, but to seek America, to seek the real America, that America which has dreamed, which was promised, which was written down on pieces of paper, and which has never existed anywhere, except in the hearts of a handful of men and women.

We seek that land.
We seek the land, we seek the spirit, we seek the promise of 1776.
What happened to that land? Where did it go?
What happened to that dream?
What happened to that spirit?
Is it too late to save it in Boston and in America?

Where, in 1976, can we find a Paul Revere to ride across the countryside and tell the people that the enemy is coming and that the enemy is racism and reaction within?

They no longer make Paul Reveres in Boston, and so we are here, in the 200th year of the absence of the dream, with questions and due bills and the names of black patriots that most Americans would rather forget. The name, for example, of Crispus Attucks, who was neither the first nor the last black man to die for a freedom that was not real in his own life. There has been a concerted attempt in the meaningless Bicentennial extravaganza to ignore or downgrade Attucks. But a fact is a fact, and Crispus Attucks was and is a fact. The first martyr of the American Revolution and he and the reality he embodied must be dealt with if we are to halt the drift toward disaster and retrieve the egalitarian ideas of the Revolution.

Who was Attucks?

He was a witness, a promise, an indictment. He left no speeches, he left no documents — he left an act of the spirit, and that act defines him and America and the Bicentennial.

Significantly, we know very little about him. And the fact that we know very little about him is the most significant fact of all. For Attucks was of that group which history, written history, ignores. He was of the people. More than that, he was of the people that even the people despised. He was a black man with some admixture of Indian ancestry. He had in his veins, if we can believe contemporary reports, the blood of the old world and the new world, the blood of Africa and of the first and original Americans, the Indians. And here we come to an interesting point. For some scholars have denied that Attucks was black. We need not waste our time with such foolishness. In every contemporary report, Attucks is called a "mulatto," and there is a description of him which refers to his "short, curled hair." To come right out with it — and the scholars know this — Crispus Attucks was the kind of man who would need a police escort in South Boston today.

The point here — and the point is important — is that Attucks was not a proper Bostonian, a fact that has displeased a number of historians. But you have to take history as you find it. Attucks was what history had made him and what history had made him was what history required on the night of the Boston Massacre.

It is one of the great ironies of American history that this man, with his background, should strike the first significant blow for American freedom. And it is impossible to understand him without an understanding of the double American Revolution. There were, in fact, two American Revolutions. There was a revolution against British tyranny, but there was a revolution within this larger revolution, a revolution of poor sailors, artisans, farmers, white indentured servants and black slaves, who wanted and demanded freedom from the tyranny of the Colonial power structure. Crispus Attucks was the first martyr of both revolutions. He revolted against American tyranny by revolting against British tyranny, and he revolted against British tyranny by revolting against American tyranny.

In 1750, for example, he ran away from his Colonial master. Twenty years later, at the age of 47, he turned up in Boston as a bold and outrageous leader of the Colonial resistance movement. This means that he was a patriot before George Washington discovered patriotism, and a rebel before Henry found his tongue.

It means that he was out there in the streets of Boston doing it, resisting, rebelling, risking life and limb, while Thomas Jefferson was still supervising his slaves in Virginia.

By a supreme and meaningful irony, this was the man who was the first to be shot down by the panicky British soldiers in the Boston Massacre on the night of March 5, 1770. The story of the Massacre is well known and need not detain us here. Let us simply emphasize three points:

The first point is that available evidence indicates that Attucks was the central figure and the leader of the predominantly white crowd on that night. John Adams, who

was no friend of Attucks and who defended the soldiers who killed him, said in court that "this Attucks ... appears to have undertaken to be the hero of that night; and to lead this army with banners, to form them in the first place in Dock Square, and march them ... up to the main guard, in order to make the attack." That's the first point: Attucks was the central figure and the leader of this seminal historic event.

The second point is that Colonial leaders recognized almost immediately that the Massacre was a fundamental turning point in the emerging revolutionary drama. Adams himself said that "on this night, the foundation of American independence was laid."

The third and final fact is that the people of the colonies legitimized Attucks' deed in rites and ceremonies. Attucks and three of his fellow victims were buried in a public funeral which was attended, contemporary newspapers said, by the largest crowd ever assembled on the American Continent. It is a matter of more than topical interest that one of Attucks' fellow victims was a fellow outcast, Patrick Carr, an Irishman.

More than one hundred years later, a handsome monument was erected in Boston to the victims, and John Boyle O'Reilly read a poem, which said, in part:

"An honor to Crispus Attucks, who was leader and voice that day.
The first to defy, and the first to die, with Maverick, Carr, and Gray.
Call it riot or revolution, or mob or crowd as you may,
Such deaths have been seeds of nation, such lives shall be honored for ay."

This was poetry, and it sounded good and sounds good, but there was no evidence in the 1880s that the nation intended to honor or even respect Crispus Attucks and the people he represented. In fact, the year of the dedication was one of the worst years of racism and reaction in American history. Since that time, the situation has improved somewhat. But we find ourselves today in the worst crisis we have faced as a people since slavery, with unemployment rates, according to Urban League researchers, of twenty, thirty and forty percent, and with hundreds of thousands of despairing teenagers roaming the streets, without hope, without maps, without compasses.

The debt this country owes Attucks and the long line of martyrs and dreamers and builders that followed him, has not been paid, and we, their descendants, have a mandate from history to scream it from the housetops and to do something about it.

This is a duty we owe to ourselves and to America. For the low level of public discourse in this Bicentennial Year, and the official indifference to the plight of black Americans, indicate that we are in serious trouble as a nation, and that nothing short of great moral leadership will save us. It is a national tragedy, and a betrayal of the ideals of the Revolution, that we have not had, in this Bicentennial season, the kind of moral leadership that the hour demands. In an age of mounting passions and mounting problems, we have been treated to the unedifying spectacle of public men holding hands and walking blindfolded into a storm.

We need, we deserve, better leadership than that. We have a right to demand leadership that will heal our wounds and divisions. We have a right to demand leadership that will make us, at long last, one nation and one people.

But this will require a total confrontation with the Declaration of Independence, a confrontation America has evaded for 200 years. The Declaration of Independence said that "all men — and we add all women — are created equal and are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights," which they are entitled to right now.

We've been mouthing these words now for 200 years, and it is time for us to act on them. Full employment NOW. Enforcement of affirmative action plans NOW. Liberty, equality, and the pursuit of happiness NOW, for all men and all women and all children.

This is the challenge, this is the opportunity of the third century. It is a challenge to white America, but it is also a challenge to black America. For it is not enough to praise the dead; it is necessary also to vindicate them.

The debt grown men and women owe to their honored dead is a personal debt and a sacred debt, which cannot be discharged by proxies. And the question for us — the only question — in this Bicentennial Year is: Have we the will, the

courage, the **toughness** to do whatever is required to vindicate our martyrs and dreamers and doers? Have we the will, the courage, the toughness to say, with Langston Hughes:

"O, let America be America again —
The land that never has been yet —
And yet must be — the land where every man is free.
The land that's mine — the poor man's, Indian's, Negro's

ME —

Who made America.
Whose sweat and blood, whose faith and pain ...
Must bring back our mighty dream again.

O, Yes,
I say it plain,
America never was America to me.
And yet I swear this oath —
America will be."

Brothers, Sisters, Citizens:

We come to this historic place at this historic moment to swear a sacred oath in the name of Crispus Attucks, and Martin King, and Malcolm X, and Whitney Young, in the name of all the martyrs and dreamers, all those, the maids, the laborers, the cotton pickers, all those who never ceased to resist and to dream in this land. We come, not as beggars, but as men, and as women, to swear in their name that they did not die in vain and that the debt owed them will be paid and will be paid in full.

This is our legacy. This is our vow. This is our commitment to America and our honored dead on this the 200th year of the absence of the dream.

Rev. Brandon: God of Abraham, God of Isaac, God of Jacob, God of Richard Allen, God of Frederick Douglass, of Mary McLeod Bethune, the God of Crispus Attucks, the God of Frederick Douglass, of Martin Luther King, Jr., who is our God today. May His peace be upon you, may His face shine upon you and give you love and give you justice, not only for today, but for now and ever and ever and ever. Let the people of God say Amen.

AMEN

Sunday, August 1, 1976 — 12:00 noon

Council of Urban League Guilds Luncheon

Presiding:

Erma M. Davis
President, Council of UL Guilds

Invocation:

Reverend Peter J. Gomes, Minister in the Memorial Church, Harvard University

Shenango Valley Youth Choir, Farrell, Pennsylvania

Guest Speaker:

Toni Morrison
Senior Editor, Random House

Benediction:

Reverend Monsignor George V. Kerr
St. Francis DeSales Church

Mr. Haskins: On behalf of the Eastern Regional Office and the 28 Executive Directors in the East, I would like to officially welcome you to the Boston area, to this 1976 conference. This is my last official act as the Eastern Regional Director. Many of you know that I have just been moved over to the national headquarters. My successor will be Mildred Love who is the first female Regional Director in the history of the National Urban League Movement.

Mr. Bowles: Having just come to Boston five or six weeks ago I have some slight hesitation to say "Welcome to Boston" but certainly on behalf of the Board and the friends of the Urban League we do extend a heartfelt welcome to all of you to our city.

Ms. Davis: Thank you very much Bill and Bob. It gives me great pleasure to have Vivian Saunders a long time Urban League supporter to bring you greetings, followed by Mildred Love, acting Eastern Regional Director.

Ms. Saunders: Thank you Erma. Madame President, officers, distinguished and head table guests, ladies and gentlemen, it is indeed a pleasure for me to welcome you to The Council of Urban League Guilds Luncheon. To the visiting conferees and delegates we especially welcome you to our historical city of Boston and hope your stay will be a most memorable and productive one.

Ms. Love: Thank you so very much for your very warm reception. I must say that I'm very, very honored to have the opportunity to serve as the acting Director of the Eastern Regional Office.

I recognize and accept the challenge and I pledge to commit all of my skills and resources in doing a very good job as director of the Eastern Region. It is also my pleasure to welcome you to the East and we hope that you will have a delightful stay here in Boston. We are positive that it is going to be a very productive conference.

Ms. Davis: At this time Juanita Wright, National Council of Urban League Guilds, Vice President and President Elect, will introduce representatives of new Guilds.

Ms. Wright: My task is to recognize some of the Guilds that were reorganized or organized this year. I will call the name of the Guild, that of the President and that of the coordinator of the region. From the Southern Region — Mrs. Pocohanis Gratington, the Regional Coordinator, has organized Birmingham, Alabama, Mrs. Iola Baylor, President; Jackson, Mississippi, Mrs. Wanda Moncure, President; Lexington, Kentucky, Mrs. Gwendolyn Biggerstaff, President; New Orleans, Louisiana, Mrs. Gwendolyn Ally, President.

The Central Region — Mrs. Dorothy Allen, Coordinator; Milwaukee, Wisconsin, Mrs. Jacqueline Shropshire, President; Eastern Region, Mrs. Essie Stafford,

Erma M. Davis

Coordinator; Greater New Haven, Mrs. Edda Kinsler, President; Rochester, New York, Mrs. Carrie Freeman, President; Buffalo, N.Y., Mrs. Pauline Clay, President; Springfield, Mass., Mrs. Millicent Absner, President.

Ms. Davis: Our Executive Director, Vernon Jordan, will greet you and then install the persons to serve a two year term of office for the position of National President, Vice President and Central Regional Coordinator. Mr. Jordan.

Mr. Jordan: Thank you Erma. Before I install the new officers of the Council of Urban League Guilds, I want to express my personal appreciation, that of the National Urban League Board of Trustees, that of the National Urban League staff, all of the local Executive Directors, all of the Presidents of the local affiliates to Erma Davis for her fantastic service as President of the Council of Urban League Guilds.

Erma has been a great trooper, and a great soldier. She has come when it was inconvenient, she has responded to our every call, and she has served every year on the National Planning Committee for the Conference. She has also served on the Commission on the Delegate Assembly, and in various other capacities. Erma we thank you and we know like you that though you go out as President we have your continued service and commitment and we welcome it.

Yesterday the Council of Urban League Guilds had a quiet non-competitive very democratic election. The new President of the Council of Urban League Guilds is Juanita Wright from Lancaster, Pa. The new Vice President is May S. Lane from Lexington, Kentucky. The new coordinator for the Central Region is Dorethia Jackson from Detroit. Ladies, by the authority vested in me by the National Urban League Board of Trustees, I'm pleased to install you in your respective positions as President, Vice President and Regional Coordinator for the Central Region.

Ms. Davis: Thank you very much Mr. Jordan. I would like to again offer my congratulations to Juanita, May and Dorethia and to the members of the Council of Urban League Guilds. I ask you to support Juanita as you have supported me, to love her as you have loved me, and to give her every cooperation. Joyce A. Hughes, 1976 Conference General Chairperson, has such a long list of outstanding accomplishments at such a young age, that I could really spend the next 45 minutes introducing Joyce. Instead it gives me great pleasure to present the dynamic professor Joyce A. Hughes who will formally introduce our honored guest speaker.

Ms. Hughes: The quest of slaves for instruction in reading and writing is illustrative of our desire to preserve our lives, origins and traditions in written form. Toni Morrison exemplifies this quest. An English major at Howard University from which she received the B.A. Degree, Ms. Morrison taught English at Texas Southern University after receiving a Master's Degree from Cornell University. A person of exceptional talent, Ms. Morrison like any good writer is not only a master of the tool of her trade, the English language, she also has the scope and breadth necessary to give texture to her thoughts.

She is the author of reviews and articles from *Ms. Magazine, The New York Times Magazine*, Ms. Morrison has also authored the *Bluest Eyes* and *SULA*. The latter volume was nominated for the National Book Association Fiction Award. Let me introduce to you Toni Morrison, Senior Editor at Random House Publishing Company.

Ms. Morrison: Thank you very much, I'm very pleased and flattered to be asked to address a group working with the National Urban League. My memory goes back a long, long time. I have very young children and I try to pass myself off as a young mother. I'm from the Cleveland area and I remember back in the 40's when the local Guilds were established in the Northern part of Ohio. I didn't know as much about them as I do now. All I knew then was that they got us jobs and when there were difficulties there was a place to go. So I'm particularly glad to be here and to share some thoughts with you.

Most of the work I do is reading other people's work and it is difficult sometimes to find time to read what you like. But a few years ago when I was editing a book I found it necessary to read some of the old slave narratives that were collected back in the 30's by the WPA Federal Writer's Project people. I loved reading those little tales, recollections of people who were themselves slaves or the

children of slaves. There was one story in particular that always stayed with me, and I don't know why. First it just amused me because I thought it was not likely and it sounded a little far-fetched. I think I liked it because it sounded, if not like a fact, it sounded very, very true. In any case I wanted to believe it. In any case it should have happened.

Toni Morrison

It was just a paragraph. A very, very short story about a woman, a slave woman named Trece and she apparently was a big woman, a very strong woman, an excellent worker. She could work as rapidly as a man, she could lift the same bales a man could. So in that regard she was very, very much in demand. But she also had another reputation, a bad reputation because it seemed that she had a lot of lip.

She was known wherever she went, to talk back. She was difficult. So she was sold a lot from farm to farm, plantation to plantation.

The recorded incident has to do with one occasion in which she talked back and, therefore, had to be punished. At this particular place, the overseer went with his dog to get her, and he chained her wrists to a stone. While she was chained to the stone he beat her and beat her and beat her. All the people on the farm stood around and watched. I guess something happened to her inside, something broke. In the words of the narrator, "She pulled up the stone and swung it around and beat the overseer and the dog."

I loathe violence, but I got such joy thinking about that scene. I understood as I'm sure that you do, the feeling inside when something breaks and you know that this is the line that cannot be crossed. When this woman moved out of the category in her mind, in her own mind, out of the category of woman, of slave, of laborer and became a human being with rights; rights that she felt must not be violated, rights that were worth defending.

So it seemed to me that if she thought that then, how much more should we consider that now. Whatever she was, strong and efficient, sassy, maybe she was even smart. She was black, female, probably a mother and she was a slave. Any one of those is a burden of huge proportion, but she pulled the stone up out of the ground, swung it around and whipped the overseer and the dog.

I call *her* to your attention because I think that there are some contemporary Trece's in our society. Some more black female "slave" mothers in our society. They also have a very bad reputation.

Let me give you an example of just one because that one is the focus of what I want to talk to you about today. She is the welfare mother. Now her composite picture is one that we are all familiar with. She is 18 or she is 38 or she is 48 or she is 58. She has two children or four children or six children. She lives in a two bedroom apartment or one bedroom apartment or four bedroom apartment, in the 30 year old projects that were built when they tore down some beautiful old buildings and made room for it.

She had two, maybe three men. One was her husband who left. He couldn't fine work. Maybe one, maybe another were her friends. Sometimes in the summer she goes out and does a little day work and finds some kind of a job where they don't file Social Security. With the extra money she buys for herself or her children just some foolishness, or maybe something necessary, or maybe just something that she saw. Maybe she saw something on television.

The television she hides, along with the electric mixmaster and the toaster when the workers come around. She is glad there is nothing else to hide, like a man for instance, because in spite of what she has been told and how much she has read and the decisions of the court, she knows that any luxury, no matter how minor, any gift, and certainly the presence of a man, means her checks will be reduced and in some instances cut off.

Her life is just a subsistence life. It is full of planned and ritualized humiliations, large ones and small ones. But her life really isn't much different from the working poor, except she is one of the most despised, scorned and hated creatures in the land. She is a black welfare mother.

According to the newspapers, the municipal budget committees, the investment brokers and the regular people who just sit around the dinner table, she is responsible for the bankruptcy of New York City, the decay of Boston, Detroit, Newark, Washington D.C. and every other major city in the union as well as the ever increasing tax load of people in the suburbs where she sometimes goes to pick up the little day work.

She is the reason whites and blacks leave the city. She is the reason why

landlords and hotel owners can afford to stay in business. She is the cause of the absence of city services, the breakdown of mass transit, the dwindling funds for education, the increased bridge tolls, the rise in the crime rate, the overburdening of the courts, the exodus of corporations from the cities and the general aura of crumble that marks even this year 1976.

One hundred and eighteen million dollars were spent in 1973 to find out whether she had a television, mix master, a Miller Highlife or a man.

Now what are the sources of the contempt that are heaped on her. It is the fact that she is able bodied and therefore she ought to have a job, that is a real job. I mean money. Homemaking, childrearing, those are not jobs, those are woman's work which is to say it is peripheral. It is easy and it is economically worthless. The Bureau of Labor agrees with those definitions obviously, since it ranks a professional nursery school attendant as a lower class job than a zoo keeper.

Since this woman does not have a job, she is lazy. If she does have a job, she is lazy. If she does volunteer work in a working center program or reports every two weeks to unemployment offices in some states, she will be withdrawn from the welfare roll. The welfare department presumably eliminates able bodied applicants. But the work incentive program lists men, single, married, crippled, broke, whatever as preferred in a referral list. If she doess work she does so as the peril of leaving her children alone and unsupervised for which they can be taken from her. Taking a job, marginal in wages, could reduce even more the subsistence level at which she lives. Well she is nevertheless required to be employed.

A second source of the contempt of which she is held, is that she is morally depraved. She may have given birth out of wedlock and she might do it again, a clear sign that she does not have the proper attitude toward her free life, that she lacks gratitude. Since she continues to have or crave sexual relations for fun, she clearly lacks the constraint that is characteristic or ought to be of people on the dole. They are supposed to have more restraint than other people. As a matter of fact between the twin evils of laziness and depravity, the latter probably holds more sway. For the latter makes it possible that she will reproduce herself, and create other lazy, immoral females who will follow in her footsteps, or males who will make it possible for them to.

Some, even all of her children may be illegitimate. Or more important, poor illegitimate children, which is to say that they have no estate to claim, they are heirs to no property whatsoever, and therefore, will add to the swelling lists of ADC rolls. They are threatening to the middle class. They are so threatening to middle class white women from very, very fundamentalist environments, even women of extremely delicate sensibilities are persuaded to endorse abortion on demand when reminded or told it will keep them from having so many babies. So the punishment for the birth of poor illegitimate children is relentless, sustained, and sometimes it is even permanent.

It seems, however, a perfectly harmless crime, having an illegitimate child. It hasn't once made the cover of *Police Gazette*. But the costs of supporting those children is heavy. You know it is almost 5 percent of the highway program which is 25 billion. But that is understandable because highways represent national growth; babies represent population explosion. This woman is as fearful as the plague and probably as fatal.

Nevermind that she is less than 20% of the people who do receive doles. Never mind that she is from an ethnic group who while having the heaviest unemployed burdens to bear are still not the 80% of the white people who are on welfare. Contrary to all of the spouted outrage, the matrix of the contempt in which she is held is neither her laziness, which is mythical, nor her morality which can hardly be judged, by anybody or any country which gained and secured its wealth and progress on that woman's ancestors and the deliberate encouragement and even requirement of the production of bastards.

No the real reason for the hatred of this woman is that her very existence is the combination of the elements most feared, most oppressed and most despised. She is poor, unemployed, female, a mother and black or a member of some other minority that can be associated with blacks.

Let's take them one by one. She is poor. That simply means she is part of a very necessary class. The class that must remain poor in order that certain kinds of labor remain cheap and certain kinds of jobs remain scarce. Just as it is very difficult to get people to realize that being insane does not mean that you are stupid, it is dif-

ficult to see that being poor is not the same thing as being incompetent, unintelligent or even uneducated.

The crux of our beliefs about the poor is that they are so because they are personally deficient. They always need rehabilitation which is to say they have failed. Consequently, poor people are not only dependent, they run the risk, like our mother under discussion, of being undeserving. It is their dependence and their undeservingness that makes poor people proper game.

Is there anyone who still doesn't know poor people do not choose that state over others? Poverty is the direct result of power and product manipulation by those who control both. Cheap money is created. Cheap labor is created. It is cheaper to put poor people on welfare than to provide low income housing. It is cheaper to put them on welfare than to open up jobs that run headon into the special interest groups that control them. It is cheaper to put them on welfare. It is easier to pay them a stipend than to break down discriminatory hiring practices and housing patterns. Welfare has always been the cheapest way to deal with the poor.

This woman is also unemployed. There is a great deal of hostility felt by the middle class and the working poor toward the unemployed poor. Ostensibly it is because they themselves are too proud to accept charity or government doles. Their refusal to accept this free money is so widespread that in 1968 of 150,000 families in New York who were eligible for supplementary income of between $75.00 and $100.00 a month added to their regular income, only 15,000 applied.

The middleclass and marginal income families are kept in this frame of mind by ritual purges and punishment of welfare client cheats and chiselers designed especially to frighten away would be applicants and to soothe outraged middleclass taxpayers. But even more significant, they believe very, very strongly in the work — pride effort which with their revulsion of the dole is a lesson we have all learned. It is a good lesson but it is very interesting to note that the middleclass and the working poor are the only ones who have seemed to have learned it.

The rich have no qualms at all about being absolutely idle. The rich have no qualms at all, none whatsoever about taking subsidies, doles, gifts or what ever the euphemism is for official government charity.

Women earn about 60% of what men earn. Black and other minority women earn less than white women earn. A black female with five years of college earns less than a white male high school dropout. With these kinds of figures for the employed it should be obvious what the work world is like for the black woman with no college. With perhaps one or two years of high school and only the very limited training society offers. If this woman happens also to be young, the chances of decent wages becomes even slighter.

In 1975 when all male unemployment was at 4%, black teenage unemployment was at 36%. Two years earlier black teenage women were the highest of the unemployed at 38%; black teenage males 29%, white teenage women 14%; and white teenage males 14%. As you run your finger up that table of statistics you are also tracing the increase in the level of indifference and scorn as the percentages rise.

Yes she is also female, which is to say that she has a womb, and anyone who has a fertile womb can get pregnant, for which one is punished even if you are not on welfare. But sometimes you are given lighter, meaning lower class jobs. There is difficulty in getting the humanists to allow women to work late night hours. They may be hurt. Therefore, they cannot become elevator operators at night, it is dangerous for them. If you work at night as an elevator operator you make more money, but nobody has any problems with having them scrub floors in the middle of the night. She may also be fired, or she may be forced to vacate her job. That is true if you are not on welfare. If you are, it may be necessary for you to have your tubes tied, or use birth control pills because those women do get pregnant from time to time.

Forty-five percent of all poor. Puerto Rican women between the ages of 18 and 30 have already been sterilized. The implication, of course, is if she is to remain on welfare rolls she must remain manless. She must also be grateful. She must also be austere and be abstinent. These are very special requirements for the dependent.

This lady also is a mother, unlike Whistler's and Mother McCree, most mothers without husbands have a hard time getting sympathy under the best circumstances. Divorced mother, widowed mother, welfare mother, if she is the head of a household, she is in trouble. Divorced, she has huge financial problems, maybe she enters the alimony morass. I understand that some 15% of alimony is actually in-

consistently paid. It is interesting that when a man pays it is tax free, but when she receives it, it is taxable. If she is widowed, of course, she gets a lesser share of whatever the Social Security can choose from.

If she is on welfare she has to balance the life of her children against every welfare injustice, every law, every worker, every bureaucratic system whose main function is to reduce the cost of welfare whatever those costs. One sometimes wonders what would be the attitude toward welfare mothers or welfare recipients if the children were automatically the legal responsibility of unwed fathers, divorced fathers, unemployed fathers, etc.

Perhaps the welfare parent would not be forced to apologize for a subsistence life or to exchange self-esteem for $300.00 a month. Perhaps the divorce courts would not turn as they do now on that single gear, the financial burden of the wife. Perhaps the unions would cooperate with management less in denying them equal participation.

The sexist implications of welfare are very large and very clear. The problem, of course, are the children. Babies are supported by the state, and there is a threat of population exceeding the food supply
. Isn't that interesting. In South Africa white women are encouraged, bombarded by propaganda about how to increase their fertility. Their black sisters on the other hand are overwhelmed with sterility and birth control programs.

The pill was originally developed in order to make barren white women fruitful. Multiple births are as common in Australia and South Africa as dirt, but not for the Bantu or the Aborigines. Is it the explosion of the population that they fear? But it is cheaper and it is easier to eliminate the number of guests than to cut the pie into equal slices.

But what is most important about all of this information and all of the charts, statistics, reports, and studies is that it is not new and virtually everybody knows that. It has been printed and reprinted, studied and restudied for 15 years. The most well known, well articulated fact in the United States has been that most of the poor people in the country are white and minority people in terms of labor and employment have the short end of the stick. To speculate as to why this stereotype persist in spite of the overwhelming evidence to the contrary is fascinating.

Why is it so important to believe poor black welfare mothers are the source of all economic despair from wage freezes to the price of milk, everything except the price of oil? Why does the black woman agree to hang on in spite of the fact that all poor people have more babies than rich people, that poor hillbilly girls have more babies than Radcliff graduates? Why nurture the myth they parrot badly, that they're immoral, that they are lazy and wholly free of any ambition at all? If they make such bad mothers why are they the ones given the job of raising, caring for and parenting every white child in the country whose natural parents could afford help? Maybe if the black woman babysitter raised her price to $8.00 an hour her morals would improve. There must be some wonderful, great and cool sucker this myth provides.

It is like King Kong in the 30's. It is the working out of some psychic need that the large majority of white people have. What good is she in this comfortable stereotype? What purpose does she serve them? She has lots of children, she must be dependent on a man. She must stay at home to take care of them which means that she is forced to be a mother. She gets subsistence food and shelter which means that she is not and never will be independent. Actually what she is, is a totally managed female. The last slave available in the dream hope world of White America.

The sexist assumptions about female heads of households with the tenaciousness of the mythical image of the black welfare mother is a menu that can only be described as nauseating. It consists of food already chewed and put back on the national blue plate whenever there is an election, urban financial crisis, flurry of strikes, or when the working poor get a notion they are abused. It is possible to have full employment in peacetime, but not if special and powerful interest groups don't want it. It is possible to have daycare centers for children of working mothers, but not cheap and it does cost a minimum of $2,000 a year for each child.

The 15 billion dollars spent annually for all categories of welfare funds combined is still less than enough. It is an infinitesimal amount of the national budget.

There are a lot of people that benefit from the survival of these racist, sexist, classist conclusions. To them it is important that the middleclass and the working poor never allow their attention to be drawn for long to the fact that most of their taxes are being funneled to the Pentagon, the airline industry, and ship building in-

dustry. Twenty billion dollars was spent for shipbuilders alone in 1975.

And if their attention does stray in that direction it must think of these welfare checks to industry as a way to create jobs, never in terms of profit taking. They must be convinced that subsidizing Amtrack is good for the country, which it is, but subsidizing the poor is evil. Nor must they remember that the corruption within the welfare industry is overwhelmingly in the middleman's strata, that the freeloading of recipients is minus four.

They must feel at all times there is a large group of people underneath them that threaten their existence. The very rich do not threaten them at all and that women and mothers cannot and should not be independent. Supposedly, if these two classes play their parts very well, we are safe from creeping socialism or whatever the current term is for non-exploitative forms of government.

In terms of waste and the real pain that human beings are forced to endure, the consequence of this carefully engineered ignorance and its robust complicities is truly devastating. It has always seemed to me people tolerated another person's pain much more easily than they've tolerated the waste of resources, of material things. I remember both the miners and their union bosses agreed and understood why the owners of the mines chose to pay death benefits rather than include certain safety measures in those pits.

A second consequence is that as a nation we are producing a new menacing breed of human beings. Generation after generation of a species are being produced and trained to implement Gestapo tactics. Gestapo mentality with regard to social welfare, and the value of human life and with whom the power over human lives should lie. Welfare is a huge industry in the constant search not for the poor but for the deserving poor, spending 76% of their working time winnowing out the undeserving. They confirm to themselves and to us that need alone is not sufficient, not a sufficient criterion for help.

Poverty is not a state in which one has a deficiency of things, but it is a state in which the person is deficient. They promulgate the concept of the irremedial and the preferable. They divide humans up like the New York Times at Christmas into classes of indigents. The dispensable poor and the indispensable poor which is a step away from making judgments about dispensable life and an indispensable life. Quietly, steadily we are losing more and more of that number of people who are trained to make human decisions.

Another consequence of these attitudes is that racism spreads like belladonna and it catches white and black alike in its malignant growth. Racism is not an exotic flower in this country. It is a very common weed and its roots are long and hardy and they grow everywhere. In concrete as well as in Kentucky Blue Grass.

And I think you might as well hear in 1976 some of the memorable words of our Forefathers in this regard. On December 3, 1883 Andrew Jackson said, "Indians have neither the intelligence, the industry, the moral habits or the desire of improvements which are essential to any favorable change in their condition. Established in the midst of another and a superior race and without appreciating the causes of their inferiority or seeking to control them, they must necessarily yield to the force of circumstances and ere long disappear."

Theodore Roosevelt said to Owen Wister in 1901. "I entirely agree with you that as a race, the mass of blacks are altogether inferior to the whites. I suppose I should be ashamed to say I take the Western view of the Indians. I don't go so far as to think the only good Indians are the dead Indians. But I believe that nine out of every ten are. I shouldn't inquire too closely into the case of the tenth. The most vicious cowboy has more moral principle than the average Indian."

General Ulysses S. Grant issued the following order in December 8, 1862. "Give orders to all the conductors on the road that no Jews are to be permitted to travel on the railroad southward from any point. They may go north and be encouraged in it, but they are such an intolerable nuisance, that the department must be purged of them." The second order, "On account of the scarcity of provisions, all cotton speculators, Jews and other vagrants having no honest means of support except trading on the misery of the country are to be forbidden."

Sam Houston told the United States Senate in 1848, the Anglo-Saxon must pervade the whole southern extremity of this vast continent." The Mexicans are not better than the Indians and I see no reason why we should not take their land"

Richard Pike who lived in Boston in 1854, said, "Catholicism is and it has ever been a bigoted, persecuting and superstitious religion. There is no crime in the calen-

dar of infamy at which it has not been guilty. There is no sin against humanity that it has not committed. There is no blasphemy against God which it has not sanctioned. There is a power which is never scrupled to break its faith, solidly plighted wherever its interest seem to require it."

In 1854, in the New York Tribune, there was an editorial, "The Chinese are uncivilized, unclean, filthy, beyond all conception, without any of the higher domestic or social relations. Lusty and sensual in their disposition, every female is a prostitute of the basest order."

General Sherman, "We must act with vindictive earnestness against the Sioux even to their extermination, men, women and children. Nothing else will reach the root of this case. The more we can kill this year, the less we will have to kill in the next war. But the more I fear these Indians, the more convinced I am that all have to be killed or maintained as a species of pauper."

Last there was a Mr. William Bird in Virginia who kept a diary and had always been described as the most liberal and the most polished kind of master. I'll read just the dates, 28, "Jenny and Eugene were whipped, "by the way there are other entries in the diary, I just pulled these out. 4/17, "Anocka was whipped;" 5/13, "Mrs. Bird whips nurse;" 5/23, "Ma was whipped;" 6/10, "Eugene the child was whipped for running away and had the bit put on him;" 9/3, "I beat Jenny;" 9/16, "Jenny was whipped;" 9/19, "I beat Anonna;" 1/30, "Eugene and Jenny were whipped;" 12/16 "Eugene was whipped for doing nothing yesterday;" 7/1, "The Negro woman ran away again with the bit on her mouth;" 7/8, "The Negro woman was found and tied, but ran away again in the night;" 7/15, "My wife against my will caused little Jenny to be burned with a hot iron;" 8/22, "I had a severe quarrel with little Jenny and beat her too much for which I was sorry;" 8/31, "Eugene and Jenny beaten;" 10/8, "I whipped three slave women;" 11/6, "The Negro woman ran away again," and on and on and on.

Well what were the ravages that racism and sexism brings to human life? What was the destruction, moral and spiritual that racism visits on both the perpetuator of racism and the victims of racism? Plus our creation of a nation of people who cannot distinguish a humane decision from an expedient one. I believe we are in for some difficult times. I hope it has all been worth it for all those rich old men in those rich old houses. I hope it has been worth it for all those little men in those Executive Suites, and all those steely eyed women who turnover buses. But we know that it hasn't.

Is there anyone in the world who really wants to be Howard Hughes? Was his flesh, his actual living flesh ever worth more than the life of one little black child on ADC? I urge you in the workshops and sessions of this 66th Annual Conference of the National Urban League, in your Guilds, your work and your life, remember Trece that unmanageable slave who asserted her human rights. Consider the martyred Trece of whom welfare mothers are only one example of whose rights are being chopped away, chipped away simply because they exist. For we are her children, we are Trece's children and if there is any grace or any justice in the world she will call upon us one day to account for ourselves. Thank you.

Sunday, August 1, 1976 — 2:00 p.m.

The Right To Representation

Presiding:

Ronald H. Brown
Director,
Washington Bureau
National Urban League

Guest Speaker:

Samuel DuBois Cook
President
Dillard University
New Orleans, La.

Panelists:

John Wilkes
Director
Black Political
Affairs Division
Republican National
Committee

Basil A. Paterson
Vice-Chairman
Democratic National
Committee

Mr. Brown: We feel this forum is an extremely crucial one since we are in a political year. The topic, of course, is **The Right of Representation.** Our guest speaker is one that, is truly a pleasure for me to introduce.

I asked him just a few minutes ago if there was anything special that he would like me to say about him. He said I should just indicate that he is a plain country boy from Griffin, Georgia.

Well, let me tell you a little about that plain country boy from Griffin, Georgia. He is a Phi Beta Kappa graduate of Morehouse College. He earned his Masters and Doctor of Philosophy degrees from Ohio State University. He is a former professor of Political Science at Duke University and after only two years there, he was given the outstanding professor award by the Duke student body. He is a university scholar at Ohio State University, and he holds an honorary doctor of law degree from Morehouse. He has been a John Hay Whitney Fellow, a Social Research Council Science Fellow, a Rockefeller Foundation Fellow and a Fellow for the Southern Education Foundation and the Ford Foundation. Dr. Cook was a Program Officer in higher education and research at the Ford Foundation, and is a former president of the Southern Political Science Association. He is presently a trustee of the Martin Luther King, Jr., Center for Social Change. It is my very real and distinct pleasure to present to you the President of Dillard University and that country boy from Griffin, Georgia, Dr. Samuel DuBois Cook.

Dr. Cook: This forum has a very worthy subject, **The Right of Representation.** It is both timely and timeless, old but never young, philosophical and historical, theoretical and practical. It is cast in the memorable context of the Bicentennial with all this heavy symbolism for Americans in general and blacks in particular.

My subject is black representation in the American political system's philosophical and historical overview. The theme of this forum does not assert the privilege, the claim, the belief, the feeling, the hope, the promise of the idea of representation. It rather asserts something deeper, profounder and firmer. It is about the right of representation. As such it is suggestive of a fundamental prior claim, something inherent primary, primordial, ultimate, something morally coercive and philosophically compelling.

A human right is a radical and supreme claim, an affirmation belonging to persons as persons, to human beings as human beings. A human right is not dependent upon the political order, the legal order, or the social order. In fact, it refers to a realm of being independent of and anterior to not only the political process and the social process, but even a historical process. Human rights are natural and inalienable. They involve a doctrine of man, they go to the heart of human enterprise, the moral order, indeed the antilogical order. The state and the political system exists to secure and to protect. But not to create or establish fundamental human rights.

Human rights in this context are equal. According to this great natural law and natural life and enlightenment tradition, from which our Bicentennial tradition

Samuel DuBois Cook

springs, human rights are not man-made but Godgiven. The state does not give it and the state cannot properly take it away. Rather the state receives this justification, its reason for being, its very legitimacy, from the moral imperative and ethical mandate to protect and advance the natural, divine and human rights of persons.

Justice is the highest duty of the state and the political order. In the language of the ever radical, ever revolutionary Declaration of Independence, "we hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal. They are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights. That among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights, governments be instituted among men, derived on that just powers from the conscience of the governed. That whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, is the right of the people to alter or abolish it and to institute new government."

The Declaration of Independence is the most radical, most revolutionary public document ever written. It is far more radical and revolutionary than the Communist Manifesto. In fact, beside the Declaration of Independence, the Communist Manifesto is much more limited than the Declaration of Independence, the Communist Manifesto is a conservative document. First, the Communist Manifesto is much more limited than the Declaration of Independence. It calls for a single revolution against a particular class and status quo. The assumption is that after the Revolution and its aftermath, there will be no problem of exploitation, oppression and injustice.

On the other hand, the Declaration of Independence is much more realistic about man and about power. It calls for a continuing and permanent revolution against the systematic perversions of power, against the abuses of power and authority by the officials of government.

The Declaration of Independence affirms the proposition that the problems of the corruption of power are continuous and man must always be about the unfinished task of creating a more just and humane society.

Despite all the ambiguities, contradictions, racism and oppression, violent resistance to social change, bitterness anguish and unending tragedy, philosopher Ralph Bottom Perry was essentially correct in his observation that the history of American democracy is a gradual realization, too slow for some and too rapidly for others, of the implications of the Declaration of Independence.

The theme of this Conference **Towards A New Bill of Rights** in this Bicentennial year is a dramatic reminder of American philosophical roots, moral pre-suppositions, humanistic commitments, historical and spiritual heritage at its best, and the immortal and haunting promises of the land.

Americans were born to be free. Freedom is our birthright, our rightful inheritance, our view. What is the meaning of Americanism? What does America mean? What are the American ideals, principles, and promises? What is the ultimate meaning of the Bicentennial?

Representation is a vital form of power. It is also a critical expression of democratic participation, and the responsibility of power in making government the function of creative and voluntary consent.

Without representation, democracy is a fraud and tragic example of human hypocrisy and self-deception. It is interesting and significant, however, that very little is said about black representation. Much is said about black participation and the political process. But while representation pre-supposes participation, participation does not necessarily entail representation. Without black representation, not only are the rights of black people infringed upon and violated, it also means that the American political system is not functioning properly, and is indeed oppressive, unjust and undemocratic.

Like all other citizens and human beings, black people have the right to representation, the right to have a voice in government, and a right to hold positions of responsibility, power and trust in the political system and governmental process. Without representation, black people are robbed of something precious, something dear. They are deprived of their view, their share of the benefits, resources and all the values derived from participation and representation. The political process is the loser. In fact, the whole of American culture suffers from the exclusion of blacks from participation in the representative process.

Black representation in American political framework is essential to the reality of American pluralism and cultural diversity. The represntation of minorities in the process of government is as essential as it is difficult in a free society.

Black representation in government is more than necessary to black self-interest, self-advancement, self-protection, self-pride, self-identity. It is also indispensable to genuinely shared power, purpose and community in this land. The beloved community is as inconceivable without black representation as it is without black political participation.

Moreover, black representation is vital to justice, equity and the responsiveness of the American political process. It is essential to the pursuit of justice and the fulfillment of the American dream of freedom, equality, dignity and justice for all. In harsh truth, black representation makes white representation more meaningful, sensitive, responsible, significant, creative and energetic. Representative government is shared government.

The old order of the American commonwealth assumed representation was an exclusive prerogative and right of white people. But the old order, which was blatantly racist, changes. Not only is representation, but equal representation, a requirement of justice. "A higher justice" said Ron Honeba, "is always a more equal justice."

Moreover, for maximum influence, and benefit, black representation in the public order must be universal in scope and reach. The American political system is one of diffusion of power and decision-making. They are almost countless centers, levels, and dimensions of political power and governmental authority in America. Black representation must be involved in them all.

Wherever public power is, blacks must be. Wherever public decisions are made, blacks must be equal participants therein. Reference is made not only to the Executive Branch of government and Congress and state legislatures, but also to the judiciary independent regulatory commission, various bureaucracies, city councils, county commissions, boards of education, political parties, interest groups and all the other agencies of public power and authority.

Black presence is crucial to the achievement of justice in this land. Generally speaking, blacks have been excluded not only from the benefits — that would be tragic enough — but more deeply and sadly from the very promise of the American political system.

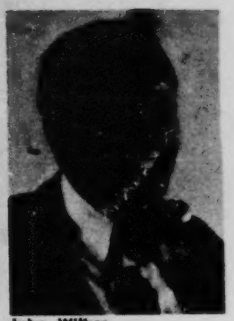
In the matter of representation this truth is dramatically illustrated. There is no need to mention the long, difficult and lonely struggle of blacks to secure the right to vote, the most elementary ingredient of citizenship, which finally culminated in the Voting Rights Act of 1965, which in effect, instituted the fifteenth Amendment. You know the tragic story of our tortuous political journey, the winding roads, the treacherous slopes,the slippery mountains, the desolate valleys, the starless nights:

During Reconstruction, despite the tragically scarred legacy of slavery blacks registered and voted and participated in the political process. They filled significant elective and appointive offices. They were familiar figures of state constitutional conventions, in state legislatures and in local positions of responsibility. Between 1869 and 1880, sixteen black men served in the Congress of the United States from the South; two of whom, Hiram Rebel and Blanch K. Bruce, represented Mississippi in the Senate. When George White of North Carolina left the House of Representatives in 1901 after serving two terms, he was the last black person to be a member of that chamber until the election of Oscar S. DePriest of Chicago in 1929. White was the twentieth black Congressman from 1870 to 1901. Historically, the master strategy of blacks has been to change their depressed and degraded status in the American social order and political system. In the pursuit of this supreme objective, many strategies have been used, and stand out because of their persistence and success.

Nonviolent direct action and traditional American politics, litigation, voting, lobbying, coalition, protest, electioneering, raised consciousness organization, political parties, pressure groups, intelligence and sheer hard work, worked to bring about historical and social change.

In a profound sense, looking at black political participation and representation from the broad perspective of history one is reminded of the words of James Weldon Johnson: "Stony the road we trod, bitter the chastening rod, felt in the days when hope unborn had died. Yet with a steady beat, have not our weary feet come to the place for which our fathers sighed."

Black representation both elected and appointed, has increased significantly in the South over the past few years, especially since the passage of the Voting Rights Act of 1965. According to VEP there are today one thousand nine hundred and forty four black elected officials in the South. Even so, the 1,944 black elected officials represent



John Wilkes

only 2½ % of the total number of public officials in the South, and blacks constitute more than 20% of the Southern population.

One must also remember that no black holds state-wide office in the South; few of the black officials hold major political office in the South; virtually all of the black officials basically represent black contituencies.

Despite all the talk about Southern changes, it is still true whites generally vote against black candidates or they fail to vote at all. In the South in terms of black representation, the greatest wrong is the federal judiciary. There is not a single black member of a federal bench in the South either serving on the district court or the various circuit courts of appeal. For black representation, the supreme paradox and contradiction, is the federal court which had done so much to bring about social change and racial progress is the greatest bulwark of racism and lily whitism in the South today, isn't that ironic? Isn't it contradictory? Even the state and local courts have done better, not much better, but at least a little better.

On the national scene blacks have increasingly won political office. Percentage wise, however, the number is not very impressive. There are seventeen black memebers of the House of Representatives, a total of four percent. There is only one black member of the Senate, a total of one percent. There is no black governor in the fifty states. There are only two black lieutenant governors in this nation, in California and Colorado. A few other blacks occupy state-wide positions of varied insignificance.

According to the 1975 edition of the Joint Center for Political Studies, our national roster of black elected officials, 3,503 black persons held elective office as of May 1, 1975. It is sobering to remember, however that the 3,503 blacks represent less than one percent of the total of public officials in this country. Eddie Williams of the Joint Center for Political Studies asserted, "We are electing blacks at the rate of forty five percent a year. At that rate, by the year 2000 there will be fifteen thousand blacks in public office. But that figure will represent only three percent of the total. So even when we are running fast, we don't seem to be moving much," says Eddie Williams.

There are numerous blacks who hold appointive offices, ranging all the way from the Supreme Court, the President's Cabinet, ambassadorships, lower federal courts, independent regulatory commissions and regulatory courts, to members of local boards, commissions and other agencies. Blacks are increasingly prominent as officials and agents of political parties, on various levels, as the 1976 Democratic Convention illustrates. Mr. Paterson is vice chairman of the Democratic National Committee. We will see in a few days about black participation in the National Convention of the Republican Party. I'm not optimistic.

In seeking to increase black representation, blacks must experiment and deal with various strategies. A central question is, elections-at-large versus district or ward elections. Many blacks feel, and I am one of them, that at-large elections on the whole dilute black political power.

Another problem facing black politics in terms of representation, is that of separatism versus coalition politics, nationalism versus "integration." Still another strategic question is of black preference for and loyalty to a particular political party. You will hear more of that I'm sure from our representatives from the Democratic and Republican parties.

Finally, as blacks develop and utilize their various strategies to change the distribution of power, value, statues, opportunity and privilege, wisdom dictates that we keep two crucial considerations in mind: first, there is a critical difference between formal representation and effective empirical representation. Formal representation is empty and deceptive. Results are what counts. Blacks must be especially sensitive to the consequences in terms of public policy, or outcome. The actual distribution of power, benefits, and rewards with special reference to the black community, the masses of black men and women. There must be a difference in public policy and the social policy.

Hence black representation alone is not enough. Black representation for what? Ultimate questions are inescapable and man is so constructed that he cannot avoid raising ultimate questions. Power for what? Political participation for what? Representation for what? Black representation is not an end in itself, it is a means to an end. It is not self-justifying. It is to be justified by its fruits, by its consequences, by the values cherished and the end pursued.

The answer to the question of representation for what, is to be found in the

American dream of equality, freedom, justice and dignity, as citizens and as human beings. It is to be found in those ancient ideals of humanism, idealism and rationalism; in the heart of the ethical consciousness, in the search for something nobler; in the quest for the good life and the good society. As Louie Corey observed, "Humanism makes man the creator of all values, of being, of dignity, integrity and independence, with a will to understand and aspire, that urges towards truth, justice and freedom."

Man is precious in the sight of men. All men are equal in their capacity for design, the good life, and in their need for justice and freedom. Neither man nor God, nor the institution must violate the spirit of man. It is the spirit that makes man truly human. The spirit that drives him to fulfill himself in a world he endeavors to make a fairer place in which to live. Or again, the democratic emphasis is on the values of every man. Whether lowly or great it gives every man the chance to live freely and fully. The right not to be shoved by the rich, the well-born or the mighty. The freedom to ask justice and get it.

The vision of the good life for all is the creation of democracy. In representation and the political process and the whole realm of American culture, black men and women are simply seeking simple justice, freedom, equality and dignity. We ask nothing more, we will be satisfied with nothing less.

Mr. Brown: Thank you, Dr. Cook for an extremely thoughtful, dynamic and thought-provoking presentation.

We are extremely fortunate today to have two outstanding panelists to react to the presentation by Dr. Cook. I am very personally pleased in that both of them are friends of mine.

On your program you have listed, Mr. Henry Lucas, Jr. Unfortunately, Mr. Lucas is unable to be with us but we have a superb replacement in John Wilkes. John is a graduate of West Virginia State. He holds a Masters Degree from Boston University, and has done post graduate work at Harvard University. He is one of the country's most experienced black Republican professionals. He is director of the Black Political Affairs Division of the Republican National Committee and also serves as Executive Director of the National Black Republican Council, an official auxiliary of the Republican National Committee.

Mr. Wilkes started in Republican politics back in 1952 when Senator Edward Brooke of Massachusetts first ran for the State Legislature. He moved to San Francisco in 1956 and became active in civic and Republican Party affairs, becoming a member of the county and state Republican Central Committees. In 1967, he became a consultant to the National Republican Committee. In 1969, Mr. Wilkes became Deputy Assistant Secretary of Labor and Director of the Office of Federal Contract Compliances.

Since joining the staff of the Republican National Committee in March of 1975, he has spent considerable time travelling about the country organizing the black Republican councils in twenty two states and the District of Columbia. It is my pleasure to present to you my good friend, John Wilkes.

Mr. Wilkes: Thank you very much, Ron. Dr. Cook and my distinguished friends, Basil.

The right to representation has been well and thoroughly discussed and I think that right would bring little question. The thing I would like to say is we must think we've reached some consensus on that but participation in politics is an area in which I think we should deliberate. How much participation, what quality of participation, and how participation affects the representation you get?

A recent study in which people were asked what parties do they belong to, revealed that 35% to 40% of the people consider themselves Democrats. These are blacks that I'm referring to. About 18% to 20% consider themselves Republican and about 40% were independent. Now if you take into consideration the Census Department's figure that only 55% of blacks were registered, it means 45% are unregistered, and maybe 45% of those that are registered, are Independent. It means there are a lot of people who are either disillusioned by the system, or who are in fact not in the system. Therefore, that has some considerable impact I believe on the kind of representation we get. I think of it as the opportunity for those of us who follow the Republican philosophy and want to see more blacks in the Republican Party.

But I think whether Republican or Democrat, it is important to know blacks are not nearly as involved, are not nearly as well represented, because mainly they don't

Ronald H. Brown

take the initiative. They have not taken the initiative to participate in one party or the other. So what I believe is that we are in a state of crisis because of this lack of participation. Certainly there ought to be a greater balance among the two parties with respect to blacks.

Beyond that I think the reason we have the unbalance among the registered is more like the question of why many of us are Baptists and Methodists, than it is a question of having thought out what we really think about issues. I think that disturbs me most. I believe the impediment to becoming involved, has to do with our inclination to look to the left, to the right and lean on the peer pressure and respond to that pressure based upon what we think is favorable as opposed to what we really believe on the issues.

I think we do a lot of political thinking, looking backwards. I think that very much of the rhetoric we hear on the political trail today is more tuned to what was reality ten or fifteen years ago than what is reality today. Therefore, I believe there is an opportunity if we can get people to think about the issues. Don't be born into the Republican Party or the Democratic Party. Think your way into some party. Decide for yourself based upon the issues. I think that is crucial to better representation for the nation. Certainly we applaud the growing list of black elected officials and there was a time when the hope for an elected black person for office was likened to a crusade. But if we look at some of the blacks that have been elected, if we look at some of the communities where we have the most black representation, I don't know if you find there is more enthusiasm about government, or that government is better managed. I think the classic example of that would be Los Angeles where we have a black mayor, a number of black city councilmen, state senators, state representatives, and two Congressmen. I don't know that apathy in Los Angeles is not pretty much equivalent to apathy in other cities. So we should not take for granted the question of the party of the elected official being the answer to good government for ourselves. I think we must look to a more balanced participation, a more competitive participation, and a willingness to hold accountable any black person who is elected. Thank you, Ron.

Mr. Brown: Thank you very much, John.

Our next panelist is Mr. Basil Paterson. Basil is an attorney and a partner in the law firm of Paterson, Michael, Dinks and Jones. He is president of the Institute for Meditation and Conflict Resolution and serves on the Board of Directors for the Fund for the City of New York and the Board of Editors for the New York Law Journal. He has done extensive work in dispute settlement and was appointed by Governor Rockefeller in 1972 to serve as chairman of panel on the use of a compulsory arbitrary statute. Mr. Paterson has been a visiting professor at the City University and State Universities of New York and an adjunct professor at Fordham University's Graduate School of Education.

In 1967, he was named one of the two outstanding persons in the New York State legislature. Mr Paterson served in the New York State Senate from 1966 through 1970. In 1970 he was the Democratic candidate for Lieutenant Governor in the State of New York. During that primary election, Basil got a 70% plurality. That was the largest percentage ever achieved in state-wide elections in New York State. In 1972, Mr. Paterson was elected Vice-Chairman of the Democratic National Committee. It is a position that he still holds and we all hope he will continue to hold. My other good friend, Basil Paterson.

Mr. Patterson: Thank you very much. Ron. When I got the notice from the Urban League asking me to come and participate on the panel, **The Right to Representation**, I couldn't figure out what in the world they were talking about. I've listened to Sam Cook give as fine a presentation on the subject philosophically as I've ever heard, and I still wonder what we are talking about. Forgive me Sam, you've made the points well.

But I suppose the thing that Sam Cook did was to really place in perspective what the problems are for black people in a nation where we are governed more by hipocrisy and contradiction than we are by authenticity in relation to the truth. If that sounds harsh to you, I'm sure it shouldn't sound harsh to anybody in this room. We've all read the Declaration of Independence. We all realize when it was issued that of the fifty six signers of the Declaration of Independence, most of them were slaveowners. Even Tom Jefferson who wrote it owned slaves.

So it is tough when we talk about esoteric concepts like "The Right to Representation," because the right does mean everything that Sam Cook says it means. Something firm, something solid, nothing fanciful. Yet, the right to representation has never meant anything for black people in this nation.

Sam Cook puts it in perspective when he says, "That from the passage of the Voting Rights Act of 1965, blacks really didn't participate even in the right to vote."

That is kind of interesting, because when the nineteenth Amendment was passed, providing women with the sufferage, it was immediately put into effect. But when we talked about blacks getting the right to vote, it took almost a century to have it implemented. Now it is nice to see the great swelling of the ranks of those who are registered through the South. I'm afraid that we in the North haven't done wo well.

In the former states of the Confederacy, blacks residing in those states have done remarkably well. Take a look at some of the statistics; they are mind-shattering. I think it was Mississippi that went from something like 6% to 61%; Arkansas from 37% to 81%; Alabama, a similar figure. When we talk about Massachussets and New York and Illinois and California, we are probably talking about under 50% registration today. So when we talk about the right to representation, that right to representation in a representative democracy is predicated on the right to participate in the vote. So we are really just beginning to scratch the surface of what representation could possibly mean to black people in this nation.

We've been very fortunate. Blacks have been elected and they tend to represent an entire spectrum of good through poor, through bad. We've done extremely well with our representatives. We look at the blacks in the Congress and we see an outstanding group of people who have done a great job, and who have actually had an influence far surpassing what their numbers should give them.

We talk again about that right to representation. I suppose what I want to talk about is how do we make it right. How do we make it something that really means something? How do we approach the pragmatics of getting it to mean real representation? Rights mean nothing unless they are exercised. Be it a right or be it something else, we have to exercise it so that it will make a difference for us.

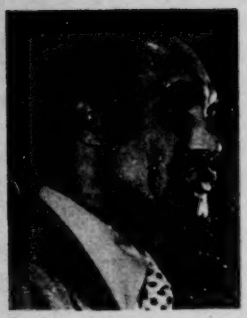
I look around this room and I see a lot of my friends and a lot of people who I don't know well but I've seen around. It disturbs me that we are not the ones that are really suffering from the lack of real representation. Our brothers and sisters who are suffering can't afford to be thinking in terms of sitting up in a nice hotel. They are thinking about very basic items, like a job.

Let's talk about unemployment. Do we need to talk about it? It has gone off the front pages of our newspapers. It is not an issue any more. Yet, just last month, we went up again in unemployment. Officially recorded unemployment rose from 7.3% to 7.5%. When I add those numbers, I don't really believe they are talking about the people I know. They are not talking about the sections of this country that I travel in, because we don't have anything as good as 7.5% unemployment. They haven't had it in forty years. They have 17% unemployment minimum.

I read that there is 40% youth unemployment in this country. When you walk down 8th Avenue in Central Harlem with me, or on Lenox Avenue, or up and down any one of those streets in between, you are going to find a very surprising thing. There are an awful lot of young pople standing out in those streets and they would love to have a job but they can't get one. They would love to have a chance to go back to school, but even there, things are turning differently. In New York City there was one thing that we distinguised ourselves by if nothing else; it was the opportunity for higher education afforded to all irrespective of our income levels, and that now has been curbed.

No longer will we have free and open admission to our City University; that has been changed. If you walk down those streets with me, you will find something else. That people don't have decent places to live. I hope everybody has already had their meals, because I will tell you something, I hate to put it so brash and so graphically, but they talk about slumlords in New York City and in Harlem and in the South bronx and in Brownsville, and Bedford-Stuyvesant and South Jamaica. Rubbish! Those slumlords only have the deeds that tell them they have legal possession. The rats and roaches have physical possession and they aren't giving it up either. When we talk about new housing, we get administrations that declare a moratorium on housing acts that have been passed.

When we talk about people being given a chance to get decent health treatment, you go into our hospitals in New York City where we've got probably the greatest



Basil A. Paterson

municipal hospital system in the world and it takes you four hours to get emergency treatment. Right to representation, a great concept, but Dr. Cook put it so well, "It doesn't matter who you elect, if you don't bear the fruits and don't receive the benefits of decent advanced representation." Blacks have got to be participating in this system, if we want to derive those things that we think that we are entitled to, for ourselves and for our families, our neighbors and our friends, we are going to have to be participating.

Where I come from, I hear a lot of people on the street corners saying that this system has never worked and, therefore, let's not even bother with it. The truth is that we never really tried that system. It may not work. It may well be that unclear issues and unsatisfactory candidates have turned our people off totally to the political system. But I don't see anything else that is available and vialble right now. For those who want to talk revolution they can get their pipe bombs, their carbines, but there are very few mountains and jungles they can go anJ hide out in this country, so they are not going to make a revolution.

They've got to use what is a viable alternative for 1976 and that is the political system. What we've got to learn to do is to use it, for the same people have always used it in the past. The people we have to be interested in primarily are going to be the people who have been ignored in the past. We can use it. We've seen instances where we have used it and have used it well. We've learned well. We are all survivors. When we use that system we've got to make sure it provides the greatest benefits for the greatest number.

The quality of life for the people in our community has to be improved. It can't go on the way that it is. It is a terrible shame the feeling people have. The psychological deprivation that follows fiscal deprivation. That idiot box we call television which tells everybody how well some people are living and, therefore, how badly they are living, and, therefore, how dumb they must be. There is an old adage in this country, if you are so smart why aren't you rich? I think we are being told constantly that there is something wrong with us because we are not making it well.

There is nothing wrong with us. People who are sitting in this room today are a personification of how well we can do, given half a chance. But that chance isn't going to be given to us, we are going to have to take it. The wherewithal to do it is here. We've got the talent, we've got the resources, limited as they are, to do better than what we've been doing. We can make the right to representation a reality. It is going to take a lot of hard work. We've got to do a lot of scratching and clawing, but we are going to make some strides. We want to make giant strides as quickly as we can. Thank you very much.

Mr. Brown: Thank you very much, Basil. We have had a profound presentation by Dr. Cook and two excellent responses from Basil and John. We are now ready to begin with questions from the audience. I think I'm going to ask the first. I think that most agree the best way for blacks and other minorities to increase their influence on the policy-makers of this nation is to participate to a much greater degree in the political process, by registration, by voting, by total involvement in that process. There are still those though who argue participation in the two party system is fruitless and that what is needed is a coalition of black people and other minorities in a third political force. Dr. Cook and the two reactors, would you like to respond to that thesis?

Mr. Paterson: Well, I guess I almost jumped out of my seat beacause I want to answer that. I spent last Saturday in Columbus, Ohio where the black political assembly has a very viable operation in the State of Ohio. This is something that we ought to understand is nothing new. We've had independent third parties. After all, what would you call the Freedom Democrats of Mississippi who started out in 1964 or the Lowndes County Democrats, of Alabama of 1966. Those are independent political parties. I think it does work. I think we do have some independent black political parties. I know I come from one in central Harlem. We know we elect Democrats and those Democrats had better be responsive to us, rather than to the heads of the party.

We have a terrible problem now, we have a Democratic governor and it makes it more difficult. Sometimes the patronage dispensing can warp some people's views on what they think is right, and what they think should be done. By-and-large, what you find around this country is that the blacks who demonstrated vision and foresight and

the ability to cope have done so with a very independent outlook irrespective of what party they may be in. The concept of an independent third party can work on a very localized area. It can work where you have a predominantly black constituency. It can work in parts of New York City and parts of Massachusets and many other places in this country.

The idea of a black independent third party on a national basis I think is self-defeating. I don't believe you then have an influence on either party. I would guess the Chairman of the Republican and Democratic Parties would be so encouraged they might even give yqu some money to set it up and go off somewhere and get lost. While I'm at it, I might as well tell John what I'm certain he has said many times before. I happen to think it is important that blacks participate in the Republican Party. I just have one problem, don't participate too much because when you do that, you will be responding with no offers. You will be operating without any strength. You will be going without demand.

Let me give you some numbers, quickly. There are approximately 15 million eligible blacks to vote in this country. We have only about 8,000,000 who are registered. Just about 50% of us voted back in 1972 and yet they constituted about 25% of the Democratic Party's vote. Just look at those numbers. Almost 90% are voting Democrat. I say this to you because this is what we've been saying to all the Democratic aspirants and to Governor Carter when he got the nomination and even before he got it. He has to pull black votes. We are the balance of power.

We provide a differential of three million votes. That is critical. That is what we are trying to tell the Democratic Party candidate.

Mr. Wilkes: To the question of the independent parties, we have to look at what it requires in terms of leadership for any party to be effective. Numbers don't necessarily make you effective in a party. Leadership in a party as in any other areas of our life determines what you get out of it. Numbers help. The more the numbers the better the leadership can work.

I don't believe Basil or any other Democrat would say that for the 25% of the vote which they give the Democratic Party they get their due. I don't think they can say that because they never will get it until such time as there is some balance on the other side of the aisle, because the party does in fact take them for granted. That's why at the Democratic Convention they had 9% black delegates and not 15% like they had before.

I think the question of what we get out of politics in the future is going to depend upon whether or not we can restore some of the enthusiasm among black people to want to do something for all black people. I'm talking about the growing level of leadership which has escaped to the suburbs, just as the white people with the money in the cities have. Now we don't have that leadership in the party, we don't have that kind of interest.

I was at lunch today talking to a friend. He was talking just as he talked twenty years ago when I left Boston, except he says things are getting tougher out here. However, he also told me that he lives in the suburbs.

I don't care whether they go Republican of Democrat. What I want to see them do is get into the process because I contend the leadership drain is fantastic. We've got to do something.

When I left Boston twenty years ago, the top job for a black was a $6,500-a-year job as director for equal opportunity or something to that effect. It was a long time ago and there has been a lot of changes. But I'm not so sure that the people who have gone up the ladder, as a matter of fact, I know that they are not now showing the kind of enthusiasm we showed when there was no money in the community, only heart and a willingness to work together and try and improve things for the masses.

Mr. Brown: We are now ready to open it up for questions from the audience.

Q: Have any plans been made for the upcoming elections to go out and get people registered to vote?

Mr. Brown: I can respond briefly. There is something called Operation Big Vote, which is a coalition effort involving Republicans and Democrats and civil rights or-

ganizations and church groups, and community service organizations who have been active in the black community. That structure is being staffed principally by the Joint Center for Political Studies in Washington. They are going to be involved in extensive voter registration activities throughout the country, zeroing in on black communities.

Q: I would like to get responses from both gentlemen on what they see we must do beyond registering and voting to have greater accountability and greater clout in this process.

Mr. Paterson I think we've seen some examples of it very recently. John Wilkes is quite right that in the Democratic Party blacks reached the highest point of representation in the National Convention in 1972 and we had just about 15% of the delegates, black. We dropped to about 11% this year. But we knew it was getting down when we saw the returns from the first twelve states where they held primaries. What we did, those of us who have been involved in the Caucus of Black Democrats, was to put together some material and go before the Democratic Rules Committee before the Convention was held and make a demand for a change in the procedures for the selection of delegates. Well we now have, and it will take effect in 1980, and before if there is a mid-term convention, is a system used in employment opportunity, namely goals and specific timetables. I use that just as one illustration.

I suppose the key answer to your question is, we've got that registration, we've got participation, but we've got to have organization, mobilization. We've got to use some of those resources we learned to use in the anti-poverty groups. How to have person to person contact; how to get people out. I know national politics is sort of glamorous, but I sure would like to see some of us start talking about local politics. Who is our city councilmen or aldermen? Who are our state legislatures? Now it is appalling that people don't realize that by factors of ten, your state legislature means that much more than the Congress. They determine how deep you are going to be buried in the soil. Whether you can open on Sunday, or whether or not they can give you discounts. They determine what your property taxes are going to be, what your sales taxes are going to be. All these things are done at your state level, and believe me you can really operate at the state level because again it is a smaller area. You are dealing in Assembly districts or State Senate districts, or House of Representatives districts where you can really make an impact.

Q: Locally, our black candidates want to hog it all. They don't want young people to get into the act. We find that jobs go around to one or another, and do not involve people. People are getting fed up because of that, especially in the smaller communities. So, therefore, you find folks refuse to come to the polls. What are you doing about going back and saying to these black leaders that you have to open up a training period because you are not going to be there all the time?

Mr. Paterson: I think you are absolutely right. When it comes to leadership, you will forgive me but I don't know what it is like to hand leadership to everybody. Nobody gave it to me. I don't mean to sound too crass about this, but I think that you are going to find that our youth leadership is going to carve out its own way. Now that may not be the best system, but I'm afraid that's the historical system of human beings. If they get fed up like you said they are getting, and they decide the hell with the Basil Paterson and the Percy Suttons and Charley Rangels. We won't have to move over they will move us out. That is appropriate. That's the way I did it, Sutton did it and Rangel did it. As I go around this country, I find that's the way Willie Brown, Yvonne Burke and Merv Dymally did it. You name them, all over the country, nobody handed it to them.

The one terrible problem that we've got is how many of those young people are prepared to go out there now. When the vote was lowered to age 18, we all were expecting to see young people coming out and doing things. Now, I'm going to tell you the truth, and it is that if I were left alone with a limited amount of resources, I'd only spend it on people over thirty. That may sound terrible to you, but all the people over thirty, come and they vote, and if they register they are going to come back.

We went through the first voter's act and the first voter's organization back in 1972, and registered a lot of young people. They never showed up at the polls because

they knew they had a whole lot of years to come back later. If they weren't satisfied with those candidates, one day some better ones would come. That's the way it always is. We've got to encourage young people but what I want to encourage them to do is to rebel. I don't mean to be so chauvinistic but when you are black you aren't going anywhere unless you push.

Q: Labor provides resources to get out our vote, but does anyone ask what you, that is labor, going to do for us if you get it?

Mr. Paterson: There is a difference in labor, just like there is a difference within the Replublican Party.

I probably could again stand here and tell you about how we have to take the steamfitters union in New York to the federal courts to ger blacks in the apprenticeship program; how we have to take the sheet metal workers to court, and how we are fighting constantly with construction unions in New York City to get a chance to work. I would have to say to you that there is no question that we've had problems with labor and we will continue to have those problems.

I will work with anybody, George Meany, you name him, if they are ready to give me something back for my community. But I grant you, we have had those problems. They've taken us for granted. We've gone out and done the work, produced the vote and they take credit for the vote. That is not unusual, politicians have always done that. Labor peoples are politicians too. I just suggest that we've got to separate and deal with those who want to deal with us. Give to those who want to give something back. You give something, you take something. When it stops being give-and-take, get out.

Q: I think that if we really look at the type of attitudes that you've demonstrated in answering the question concerning young people you will understand why young brothers and sisters are not involved.

Mr. Paterson: Sister, I hope you heard me and maybe I didn't express myself clearly. What I said was not discouraging to young people. I said that if somebody had limited resources, how they could best spend it. It just happens I don't have to worry about relationships with young people and what they are doing in my district. I am helping them run for office. I've got three of them running for the Assembly right now. You are absolutely right that we've got to encourage them, particularly when it becomes very expensive to run for any office. Somebody has to find the ways and the means to get them some radio exposure or maybe get their names in newspapers, that's basic. You are absolutely right about that.

So, if I sounded like I was trying to discourage them, the answer is NO. What I'm saying is that I would hope our young people would not wait for older blacks to reach out and and do for them because it may not be coming. I'm being very harsh about that. I'm hoping the young blacks I know aren't waiting for anybody. They are going out and they are doing it. Because unfortunately, that's the way the operation goes, I see blacks who want to stay in elective office just like I've seen whites, forever, forever.

I remember going to the State Legislature and looking around and seeing men there who had to drive two hundred miles each way. I said my God, how can these men handle that drive. But they were staying there because they got the disease of politics, never want to move over, afraid they were going to lose something. Blacks get it too, they get it and never want to move over.

Dwight Eisenhower said two things I've always thought were right in his time. He said number one, that one of the great dangers of our country was the military industrial complex and he has been proven to be so right. Number two, he said that the founding fathers never intended that public office should be a life's occupation.

I wish some of the people who occupy those offices would read what he said and take it to heart. When you are serving in the state legislative body or any public office, or elective office, you don't get a chance to read a book, you don't get a chance to do some real thinking.

It is my contention, five years is probably the limit for innovative thinking on your part. You've got to go back and restore and re-energize. So, sister, you are right. I want young people because the are coming in unchained by the traditions of the past. They are coming in with new ideas which sometimes strike us as being

crazy. It happens that they are just a little freer in their thought processes. So I apologize if I was somewhat unclear in my statement. If there is one thing we need in our community, it is greater youthful black participation.

Q: I was relatively shocked to hear that in the last twenty five years, blacks have done worse now than we've ever done. I think that that has some implications. In terms of the involvement that we get from black students, and black youth. Would you respond to that?

Dr. Cook: I'm not sure of your figures, that we are worse off than ever? To what? Would you be more specific? Do you mean economically, do you mean politically, do you mean educationally?

Q: I'm speaking specifically in reference to economic status concerning blacks and whites and their families. I spoke in relative terms, that economically, there is a broadening gap between blacks and whites. That was directed to your concern about black involvement with the political system and a high concern about the independent blacks, and poor voter registration.

Dr. Cook: You've got to be careful, though. Relative to white income, black income just went down in the last three years. But over the last twenty years, black income has increased, comparatively speaking. The last figures that I saw indicated that black income is only 59% of white income which is, of course, very discouraging, but twenty five years ago, it was perhaps 40% of the income of white people. So again, you've got to see it in more relative terms of the specific historical period.

It simply is not the case that blacks are worse off than ever in American history. This is obviously not the case. We aren't nearly as well off as we should be, and sure the progress isn't nearly as much as it should be. But you don't make the assumption we are worse off than we've ever been. I don't think that is true at all.

Q: If the majority of registered blacks are Independent, how can they have any imput into who runs?

Mr. Paterson: I don't believe that the majority of black people are registering Independently. I think they are a little bit more sophisticated than that. I think those are figures that are national and are taking in whites as well. If it is true, we are making a terrible mistake.

If you are going to register Independent, believe me, we are never going to elect anybody. So I urge you, if you want to vote Independently, fine, but the day you put down I for Independent, on your enrollment, is the day that you've deprived yourself of participation in the selection of candidates.

Q: Do most of the people who register, actually vote?

Mr. Wilkes: I think that the survey showed that 80% of the people who registered do vote.

Q: What are either, Gerald Ford or Jimmy Carter likely to give the black community if elected?

Mr. Paterson: There is no reason why we should expect Gerald Ford or Jimmy Carter to respond particularly to our community. I hope that doesn't shatter anybody's sensibility. They are only going to respond the same way we respond, because we have to. The question then comes out to what are we doing right now to try and see that whatever administration is elected responds to the working poor.

Q: How is it possible for us to talk about being represented in the system and not to lose our own authenticity?

Mr. Wilkes: Until such time as you are fully participating and contribute in terms of the way you think the system ought to work, I don't think you really can draw that kind of conclusion. I think what we do is talk about the historical pattern of what it looks like. I think what we've been saying is that there hasn't been enough of us

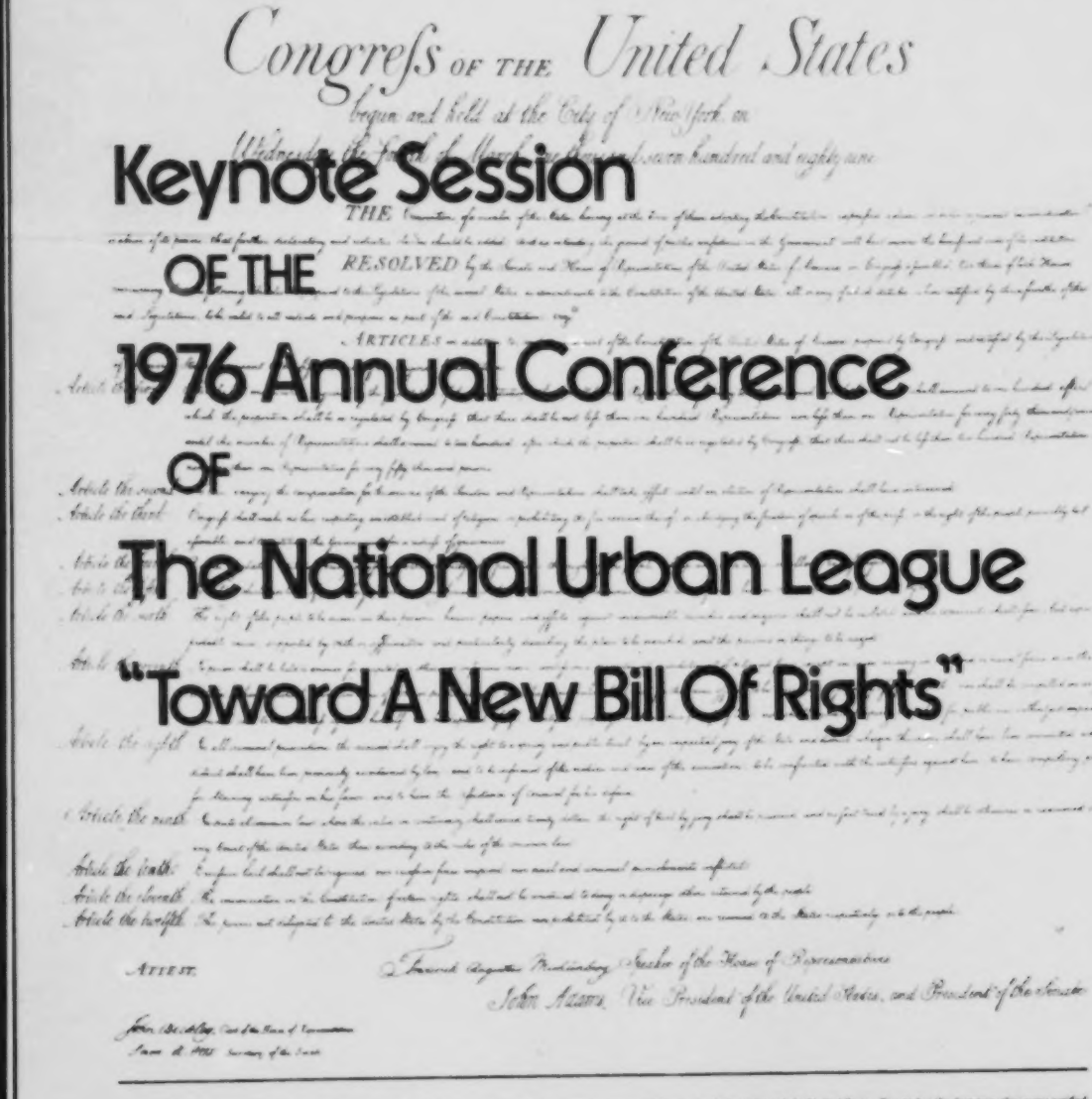
participating in the system who could and may be through participation bring some new direction. You have to get into the system, bring your input, you can vote, you can get out there and do that hard work, if you want to. But no system is going to run by your bedroom every night and let you make your input.

Mr. Paterson: I've heard since I was a kid that politics was dirty. I suppose I drew the proper inference that you keep out of it, otherwise you will get dirty. I think the people who have been pushing that concept have been very successful. I kept a very mystical belief about politics and it kept all of us out. As long as they keep telling us it is dirty and we are going to preserve our purity by staying out of it, then we are going to keep it going whichever way they want it to go.

But if we are going to try and improve it, we have to get into it. If we are going to try and improve the lot of people, we are going to have to understand that politics and economics are intertwined.

We've got to make whites in this country understand they've got just as much of a stake in purifying the system as we have.

Mr. Brown: Thank you very much. This is obviously a topic that we could spend from now until Wednesday night's final dinner talking about. But we are going to have to close the session and I would like you all to join me in thanking our three superb panelists. Thank you all for coming and participating with us.


Congress of the United States
begun and held at the City of New-York, on
Wednesday the fourth of March, one thousand seven hundred and eighty nine.
THE
RESOLVED
ARTICLES
Article the first
Article the second
Article the third
Article the fourth
Article the fifth
Article the sixth
Article the seventh
Article the eighth
Article the ninth
Article the tenth
Article the eleventh
Article the twelfth
ATTEST.
Frederick Augustus Muhlenberg Speaker of the House of Representatives
John Adams Vice President of the United States, and President of the Senate
John Beckley, Clerk of the House of Representatives
Sam. A. Otis Secretary of the Senate

Keynote Session

OF THE

1976 Annual Conference

OF

The National Urban League

"Toward A New Bill Of Rights"

EXPLANATORY NOTES. On September 25, 1789, the Congress proposed twelve articles of amendment to the Constitution of the United States. Articles the first, third, fourth, fifth, sixth, seventh, eighth, ninth, tenth, eleventh and twelfth were ratified by the required number of States by December 15, 1791, and these became the first ten amendments. They have since been known as the Bill of Rights. The original and this copy have been retained for legibility.

The articles in brief are: ARTICLE I — Regulating the number of Representatives according to the population of the State. ARTICLE II — Senators and Representatives cannot increase their salaries during their present term of office. ARTICLE III — Freedom of religion, Freedom of speech, Freedom of the press, Freedom of assembly, Freedom to petition for redress of grievances. ARTICLE IV — Right to keep and bear arms, since a well regulated militia is necessary for the security of a free State. ARTICLE V — Right of owner to refuse to house soldiers in time of peace unless with the consent of the owner. ARTICLE VI — Freedom from unreasonable search and seizure. ARTICLE VII — Right to trial by jury. ARTICLE VIII — Just compensation for property taken for public use. ARTICLE VIII — Right to speedy and public trial, and provisions for its procedure. ARTICLE IX — Right of trial by jury. ARTICLE X — Excessive bail or fines and cruel punishment prohibited. ARTICLE XI — All rights to be retained by the people. ARTICLE XII — The powers reserved to the States or to the people.

SUNDAY, AUGUST 1, 1976

JOHN B. HYNES, AUDITORIUM

BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS

8:00 PM

Sunday, August 1, 1976 — 8:00 p.m.

Keynote Session

Mr. McGannon: May I call the National Conference of the National Urban League to order, and ask the Reverend Dr. Robert W. Golledge, Vicar of the Old North Church, to give the Invocation.

Rev. Golledge: Could we stand please? Let us pray. Almighty God, we gather tonight in the midst of the two hundredth anniversary year of this nation, founded on a promise of freedom and justice for all. That American promise offers respect for individuals, respect for ideas, and respect for a process of reasonable conduct. In these first two centuries of nationhood, we have made some progress in reason, in liberty and in faith, but not enough.

There has been some fulfillment in mind, in body and in spirit, but not enough. There have been some gains in thinking, acting and trusting in freedom, but not enough. Inspire with ideal, oh Lord, the National Urban League, to establish a process and a momentum of enthusiasm that will make a job, a home and the basic amenities of life available to all Thy people. Bless us with a vision of what must be changed in ourselves and in our institutions. Grant a greater share of honor to those who focus on solutions rather than adversary tactics, and a greater share of recognition to those who serve their supporters by serving our whole society.

Give us the determination now to exert our faith, our effort and our skills in winning victories over problems and not over people. And now oh God, help us to be about the business of this convention, and may we do it without haste and without rest in thy name. Amen.

Mr. McGannon: Thank you Reverend Golledge for those very inspiring words.

On behalf of the trustees of the National Urban League. On behalf of the hundred and five affiliates of The Urban League, and as your President, I now declare the 66th Annual Conference in session.

As you know, from the material you have received, our theme is "Toward a New Bill of Rights". We have selected this title knowing full well that black people in this country have failed to realize or been offorded the opportunity to realize the dream of equality. Despite that, our dreams persist and are still unfulfilled. While we still struggle for those inalienable rights, postulated in the first ten amendments to the Constitution, we must also stand by this new theme a message to this country, that in addition to the original Bill of Rights, there are new rights that must be guaranteed to our people.

The right to economic security. The right to a quality education. The right to family life. The right to safe communities. These are the true implications of the new title of our conference.

Urban Leaguers from every corner of this land, eight thousand strong, have poured out of their homes to be a part of the fashioning of this new dream. The Delegate Assembly has three hundred and fifteen members, the largest in the history of the institution. These dedicated people will draft plans and strategies that will hopefully touch and enrich the lives of thirty million blacks and other poor minorities.

Our site is Boston, which has a double meaning and a double opportunity, in this year of the Bicentennial. Black people bear the same relationship to Boston in its colonial days as Boston bore to the American Revolution. Both were indispensible elements. As Lerone Bennett pointed out so eloquently this morning, Crispus Attucks, a

Presiding:

Donald H. McGannon, President, National Urban League; President and Chairman of the Board, Westinghouse Broadcasting Company

Invocation:

The Reverend Dr. Robert W. Golledge, Vicar, The Old North Church

Welcome:

Walter J. Leonard, President, Urban League of Eastern Massachusetts; Special Assistant to the President, Harvard University

The Honorable Edward M. Kennedy, Senator, Commonwealth of Massachusetts

Response:

Joyce A. Hughes, NUL Trustee and 1976 Conference General Chairperson; Professor, Northwestern University School of Law

Donald H. McGannon

runaway slave, was the first person to sacrifice his life for American independence in the Boston Massacre role.

You heard Ossie Davis poignantly read from the words that David Walker, written in 1829, which shocked white America by its demands for the end of slavery. The abolitionist movement which was to play such a significant role in ending slavery, was spurred on in this city by Bostonians like William Lloyd Garrison, who in 1830's, demanded immediate emancipation.

It is interesting to note that Garrison's grandson, one hundred and eight years later, became the fourth President of the Nation Urban League.

We are also reminded by history that when Thomas Simms, in 1850, a runaway slave, was being returned to his slave master in Georgia, he had to be guarded by three hundred armed policemem, who marched into the ship. The police were not needed to protect him, but to prevent a crowd of interested persons from restoring to him his liberty.

Again, this morning you heard Joyce Hughes, a brilliant Conference Chairperson, refer to William Monroe Trotter, a native Bostonian who breathed fire into the black press in the early 1900's, and served as a model of challenge for generations of black journalists to follow.

Now these are the historic perspectives, but they're just a few. There are many more to which we can refer. So Boston was not just a casual selection.

It was the conviction of the Urban League, the only place where the Urban League could convene and to shape the course of this nation's future as we enter into the third century.

So I welcome you this evening, and in doing so, we reaffirm our commitments to public advocacy of significant issues to black people, to the rendering and securing of direct services to people in need, to our duty and capability to bring a diverse people together, and finally, our unswerving belief in an open pluralistic integrated society.

My warmest welcome to you all. Thank you.

We are very pleased to have guests from the community whom I would like to introduce to you at this time. Mr. Lamont Thompson, Chairman of the Urban League of Eastern Massachusetts; Robert Bowles, Executive Director of the Urban League of Eastern Massachusetts; Kenneth Guscott, Chairman of the Local Host Committee; William Haskins, Director of the Eastern Region, National Urban League. Alexander J. Allen, Deputy Executive Director for Administrative and Public Affairs; Clarence E. Coleman, Deputy Executive Director for Field Operations; Ronald H. Brown, Director of the Washington Bureau, and as of August 15th, Deputy Executive Director for Programs and Government Affairs; Edward Redd, Executive Director NAACP Boston; and Representative Mary Good, Chairperson of the Boston Black Caucus.

It is now my great pleasure to call upon a dear friend, who will bring you greetings, Walter J. Leonard, President of the Urban League of Eastern Massachusetts and Special Assistant tot he President of Harvard University.

Mr. Leonard: Thank you Don. Dais guests, our Executive Director Mr. Jordan, friends, Urban Leaguers, ladies and gentlemen, men and women, young people and old, all persons interested in the empowerment of the excluded and the oppressed.

It was June 6th, 1919, when John F. Morse, met a group of Boston citizens after a great debate, toward inviting the Urban League into the City of Boston, to help deal with the decision afflicting and to some extent, impending the growth and development of the interest and the economic and political and social and educational empowerment of black people.

Black people nationally were having difficulty finding reasonable and tangible and renumerative employment. The black poor and the white poor were cast into competition for mennial jobs. Black parents were seeking ways to improve the educational opportunities and career choices of their youngsters. This was 1919.

The cities of the United States were pulling in the welcome mats now that the immigrants were black people, natives of their own land. Labor unions and management were locked up, denying jobs and attempting to keep the work force all-white. Colleges and universities were finding few seats for those who did not have a white face. Boston was a part of that national posture, in 1919.

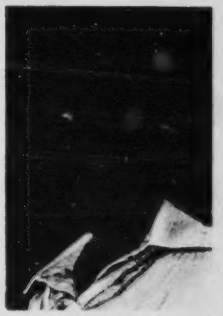
Boston has always been a city of contradictions and paradox. It gave us Roberts vs. the City of Boston in 1850. But it also gave us Garrison and Story and Trotter and George Rockland and Robert Morris. Yes, Boston gave us Sam and John Adams

who vacilated on the question of slavery with respect to the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States. But Boston also gave us Charles Sumner.

Yes, it gave us Louise Day Hicks, but it gave us Harriet Beecher Stowe and Josephine Ruffin and Melnea Cass.

So it's my honor, friends, and not a duty, to welcome you to Boston. I'm certain Boston will be better, and we hope you will be for your having come.

Members of the board, the staff and the friends of the Urban League of Eastern Massachusetts are pleased you took the decision to leave your homes and your places of business and to journey to Boston. We want you to know your very presence will alter and illuminate the circumstances. Your voices, your faces and the sound of your feet represent a victory. Thank you for being here



Joyce A. Hughes

Mr. McGannon: Thank you Dr. Leonard for those fine comments. I would like now to ask Representative Mary Good, Chairperson of the Boston Black Caucus to make a presentation.

Ms. Good: Good evening. I'd just like to say welcome to all of you to Boston. We would like to present to the National Urban League a Citation from the House of Representatives. I'd like to read that citation to you.

"Be it hereby known to all that the Massachusetts House of Representatives hereby offers its sincerest congratulations to the National Urban League in recognition of the reestablishment of the Urban League of Eastern Massachusetts. The entire membership extends its very best wishes and expresses the hope for future good fortune and continued success in all endeavors. Given this day, August 1, 1976, by Thomas McGee and offered by Mary Good, chairperson of the Massachusetts Black Caucus."

Mr. McGannon: Thank you very much Mary.

It is my great pleasure to introduce Joyce A. Hughes, an NUL Trustee and a 1976 Conference General Chairperson, who will offer a response. Joyce.

Ms. Hugues: I am delighted to have the opportunity, on behalf of the National Urban League, to acknowledge a welcome to Boston from my very good friend, Walter Leonard. We take this opportunity to welcome also the Urban League affiliates. We particularly want to thank the new friends as well as the old friends of the Urban League movement who have assisted in preparing for this conference. Members of the Boston Planning Committee have been particularly gracious and helpful, and we do appreciate it.

I think it is somehow appropriate that Walter Leonard, a native of Georgia, should welcome to Boston an organization headed by Vernon Jordan, another Georgia Native.

Around the turn of the century, the National Urban League was founded for the express purpose of assisting southern blacks to cope with the harshness of life in northern cities, such as Boston. Now those who made the trek north in the early days of migration, were unlike other immigrants to this area, not only because of skin color. For one, our roots in this country, dating before the Mayflower, were already planted and were deep in the soil of these United States long before large numbers of immigrants from foreign lands debarked in Boston and other ports.

More particularly, the recorded black presence in Boston dates back to 1638, with the arrival of a ship named Desire. It was the desire for freedom, independence and economic security which prompted the wave of black migration from south to north.

Although blacks abandoned the South during the first half of this century, in the last decade or so, we restaked our claim and indeed our rights to participate fully and freely in the life and time of the South. But make no mistake about it, we have not and will not abandon any city or town in this nation.

The National Urban League's presence in Boston symbolizes an assertion of the right of black Americans to full, complete and equitable participation in the life, affairs, benefits and services of every American town north or south.

Our decision to hold the 1976 Conference in Boston was made several years ago and recently reaffirmed. We thought then and continue to believe now that it is appropriate for this movement in this Bicentennial Year, to call attention to the

Brock Peters

contributions of black Americans. We have done that this morning and will continue to do that throughout the conference.

Then too we believe it is not enough to mark the Bicentennial with reenactments of battle scenes and midnight rides. It is not enough to sport three-cornered hats and don colonial gowns. It is not enough to frame the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution to decorate your den. It is not enough to appreciate the esthetic grace of the tall ships and roll out the welcome mat to the Queen of England.

We believe in the Urban League Movement, that we must move beyond the pageantry and toward a New Bill of Rights. There is no better place than this city known as Freedom's Birthplace from which to launch serious and in-depth discussions about the shape of the third century.

We hope you understand the seriousness of this meeting, reflected in the substance of the topics to be discussed. We think this city is an excellent city to discuss a new Bill of Rights because as has been indicated in this city, long before others, there was agitation for the freedom of blacks. We think this city is the appropriate city for the new abolitionists to gather together. I speak of those who wish to abolish economic instability, who wish to abolish lawlessness, who wish to abolish unequal education, who wish to abolish ill health and inadequate housing.

The National Urban League has come to Boston, not to rock this cradle of liberty, but awaken all of those in the nation who have allowed liberty to fall asleep in the cradles that exist throughout this land.

We appreciate your very warm welcome. We expect to be inspired by this city as others have been inspired. Among those who are often inspired by historic locations are poets. This city might well have been that inspiration although we don't know for sure, for John LeTouche, a twenty year old poet who wrote in 1937, "Ballad for Americans". This ballad has withstood the test of time as a work of art, reminding its listeners that the history of this nation has been written by people of many different races, many different nationalities, many different religions. It looks at the bright and dark side of this land and challenges all Americans to live up to the ideals so eloquently expressed in the documents that constitute the bedrock of America.

"Ballad for Americans" was introduced to a national radio audience on November 5, 1939 by the late and great Paul Robeson. Its popularity was instantaneous.

It was sung all over the country by amateur groups and professional choruses. Then something happened. It faded from view, not to be heard again until this bicentennial year, when United Artists Music and Record Group issued a new recording featuring the rich and the powerful voice of the distinguished singer and actor Brock Peters. That same score, arranged by Luther Henderson, is the music that will be presented tonight.

"Ballad for Americans" has indeed been revived and it is our pleasure to present it tonight to this audience at the keynote session of the Annual Conference of the National Urban League. It seems especially appropriate that we present this magnificent music in the bicentennial year.

And now ladies and gentlemen, "Ballad for Americans" with the Young Artists Orchestra and the Young Vocalist Chorus of Boston University Tanglewood Institute. The soloist is Brock Peters.

Mr. McGannon: We are all inspired by that presentation of "Ballad for Americans". I want to call your attention this evening to a gentleman who is in our audience, who has been involved with and very much interested in this for a long period of time. He is Chairman of the Board of United Artists Music Group, Michael Stewart. Michael, would you stand please.

Thank you.

It is indeed a great pleasure for me to present to the Annual Conference of the National Urban League the Senior Senator from the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, Edward Kennedy.

Senator Kennedy: It is a privilege and an honor to welcome so many of my friends here to Boston.

I want to express to Vernon Jordan, your distinguished Executive Director, to Donald McGannon, your board Chairman; Walter Leonard, your new local branch president, and to all of the delegates to this 66th Annual Convention of the National

Urban League my appreciation for the opportunity to speak before you.

Throughout this century, the Urban League has sought to advance and inspire creative opportunities for every black person in America and, in so doing, to open new hope for all of our people.

Men of commitment and purpose like George Haynes — Eugene Kinckle Jones — Lester B. Granger — and Whitney M. Young, Jr. — guided the Urban League to national leadership and to national pre-eminence.

Today, the skillful and wise leadership of Vernon Jordan not only has preserved those achievements but enhanced them.

I am proud to be here with you and I am proud that The National Urban League has come back to Boston to initiate its bicentennial campaign "Toward A New Bill of Rights."

Two hundred years ago, a revolutionary struggle sparked by Bostonians unleashed forces that have yet to subside. And now 200 years later, a Black Congresswoman, The Honorable Barbara Jordan, addressing a national political convention sparked within every American a rememberance of how this nation came to be, a pride in how far we have come and an understanding that we have not yet reached our goal.

She said, "We are attempting to fulfill our national purpose: to create and sustain a society in which all of us are equal."

In Boston, those words have their echo in history, in the sound of blacks and whites fighting side by side to break the yoke of tyranny.

You can hear the echo in history, in the sound of blacks and whites fighting side by side to break the yoke of tyranny.

You can hear the echo on State Street where Crispus Attucks and four others became the first martyrs of the Revolution.

You can hear the echo in Charlestown, where Peter Salem and Prince Hall, two Black patriots were among the freedom fighters who gave their lives in the battle of Bunker Hill.

And you can hear the echo in the Park Street Church, where William Lloyd Garrison preached against slavery a century ago.

You can hear the echo in our history and you can hear the echo in Boston today.

You can hear it in the decision of the vast majority of our citizens to obey the law and to keep faith with our heritage. You can hear it in the continued determination of black leaders and white leaders to work for both equality and democracy in this city.

The words of Whitney Young are so very true: " ... though we came over on different ships, we're all in the same boat now."

We are in the same boat in this city. We are in the same boat in this country. And it will take both blacks and whites together to bring this ship safely to shore.

This is the year to chart a new course for America.

It is more than simply a presidential election year. It is a year when not only American, but people around the world wonder which direction we will be taking in the third century of our history.

We need a new direction from our national leaders, a new spirit and a new understanding. We will get them with a new administration in the White House.

Vernon Jordan has called for the nation to " ...pierce the dark veil of neglect that has thus far smothered efforts to right the wrongs of the past and present." We cannot only pierce that veil but we can remove it. And we must. Vernon Jordan has said that America needs a full employment policy to assure decent jobs for all. **And we do.**

He has said that we need housing, health and education programs that truly offer equitable assistance for every family in America. **And we do.**

And I say it is time that we had those changes. It is not so much that is asked by the white family in South Boston or the black family in Roxbury. They are asking for a decent job.

They are asking for quality education for their children. They are asking for the chance to walk their streets without fear. They are asking for a health system that provides decent care. They are asking for adequate housing.

They are not asking for so very much. A nation which can send a rocket spinning millions of miles through space to dig up the surface of the planet Mars surely can provide basic standards of life and liberty for its people.

Guest Artists:

Musical Presentation, "Ballad for Americans"
Brock Peters, Soloist

The Young Artist Orchestra of Boston University Tanglewood Institute,
Henry Charles Smith, Conductor

The Young Vocalist Chorus of Boston University Tanglewood Institute,
Joseph Huszti, Conductor

Presentation of Speaker:

Joyce A. Hughes

Keynote Address:

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr., Executive Director, National Urban League

Special Presentation:

Benediction:

Dr. Michael E. Haynes, Pastor, Twelfth Baptist Church

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.

I know that we can. I believe that we will. I believe in this country. And I believe that we can chart a course "Toward A New Bill Of Rights." — a course that links full equality with full democracy for all Americans.

We can make our cities citadels of the human spirit, proud beacons of hope in a prosperous and democratic land. We can assure that school are centers for learning and understanding. We can provide for decent health care. We can open new hope for our young people and dignity for the elderly.

We can achieve a society where a child's future does not rest on whether he is born White or Black, Chicano or Irish, Jew or Catholic.

That day will come. That is the promise of America. It is a promise we must keep.

Mr. McGannon: Thank you Senator Kennedy for those stirring words that mean so much to us this evening.

As you know so well, the National Urban League is an agency devoted to change and flexibility. There is but one element that I'm aware of that tends to be unchanging or immutable and that is the fact that the director opens the annual Conference with a keynote address and sets the tone for the proceedings. A perfectly valid and constructive procedure. Vernon's first keynote was in 1972 in St. Louis, and since that time, much has happened. Our nation backed out of a war and into a major recession that's still a depression for black people. The rapid pace of social change in the sixties slowed down and then vanished altogether. In this bicentennial we find ourselves in an America that honors the legends of its past, but still has failed to confront the promises of the past.

In 1972, in his keynote address, Vernon said the hard bright flame the Urban League's cause burns stronger than ever, cutting shafts of light through the long dark shadows of our society". That bright light of hope still burns strong thanks to Vernon's leadership. Vernon has led this agency to new heights of advocacy on behalf of our constituents and his relative programs to change the circumstances of their lives.

He has forged new links between the National Office and our affiliates; streamlined the management; inaugurated new programs; vastly strenghtened our Washington office and our research facilities; has established the Urban League as a major institution today, with the ideas and proposals that our nation needs such an agency to effectively enter the third century of our time.

As Ted Kennedy indicated, it was at two prior conferences that Vernon introduced a whole consideration of a national full employment policy and later a national income maintenance policy. These have become the popular jargon among politicians after the facts, but it was here at these conferences that Vernon came up with these thoughts and these concepts that were truly innovative at the time. These have been an exciting and productive five years of the Urban League.

Speaking from a personal point of view, I was a member of the search committee, looking for the Director to succeed Whitney Young. I had never met Vernon until the day he walked in the room to meet with the commitee. Since that time, I have appreciated his energy, his integrity, his wisdom and his commitment, his compassion, and have enjoyed working with him a great deal.

It's my great pleasure to present to you tonight our Executive Director, Vernon Jordan.

Mr. Jordan: America's birthday party was celebrated on July 4th with parades, with mock battles, with processions of tall ships, with colorful fireworks, and with endless rhetoric. Our second century as a nation has ended, and in these first days of our third century, America must now confront the profound questions of national policy that will shape our future.

First among these great issues is that of racial justice. This issue lies at the core of most of our national problems — the fate of the cities, the future of the economy, the realization of democracy, and the proper role of governmental and private institutions.

This Conference is about the task of ensuring that America's third century will be one of racial equality and of the final fulfillment of the egalitarial ideas that inspired the founding of the nation. It is our task to take those bold ideas and progressive visions and make them into living ideas fit for the proud, free people of America's third century.

And there is no better place in which to affirm our vision of that future than in

this City of Boston. It was here that the first tremors of the colonists' rebellion were felt. It was here that Crispus Attucks, a black man, was among the first Americans killed in the struggle for independence.

And it is in Boston today that America's first deep-seated racial friction and tortured social tensions find their most vivid expression. It is no secret that because of those tensions, because of this City's resistance to change, because of lawless mob violence, many among us felt the National Urban League should not come to Boston.

But there are compelling reasons for us to be here. Boston is a microcosm of America; it is not an isolated exception; it reflects in a bolder light the polarization typical of the rest of the country.

Black people know this solemn truth — anything that happened in Boston, can happen anywhere in these United States. We face potential mob violence anywhere; we face discrimination in employment anywhere, we face racism anywhere.

If any city needs to hear our message, it is Boston. This City has been torn apart by the busing issue, but the real issue is the education of all of its children. The real issue is the historic racism that erected a dual school system designed to keep blacks separate and unequal. The real issue is not Judge Garrity of his busing orders, it is the obstructionism of the school board and mob violence in defiance of the law.

It is shameful that this City which helped birth a new democratic order in our land, should now symbolize resistance to the constitutional rights of little black children. It is shameful too, that some officials sworn to uphold that Constitution, should by their words and deeds aid and abet that resistance.

There are some here in Boston who are saying "never," but they said "never," in the South too. Just a short decade or so ago we heard about "massive resistance" but today, most of those segregated southern school systems have integrated peacefully. Buses that once were used to segregate are now used to desegregate. If Alabama and Mississippi and South Carolina can do it, Boston can do it too.

Boston will have peaceful desegregation when its good people stand up and be counted; when its business community, its universities, its labor movement, its neighborhood associations, stand up and reject racism in all of its forms. Boston's citizens of all races must come to realize they have more to gain by working together than by fighting each other. The good people of Boston have seen that evil triumphs when good people are silent. They should remember too, Dante's warning that, "the hottest places in Hell are reserved for those who, in a period of moral crisis, maintain their neutrality."

Boston needs help, and it needs the encouragement of our national leadership. It needs wise and humane standards set by a caring leadership that respects the law of the land.

This election year offers temptations to politicians who may see votes in once again flogging the busing issue. There are too many real problems in our land to divert attention to a phony issue like busing. A bare handful of children are bused under court orders, and then only as a last resort to guarantee constitutional rights.

So tonight we ask both parties not to whip up emotions and heighten racial tensions by injecting the busing issue into the campaign. Let justice take its course. Don't take the low road to try to win office on the backs of the little black school children. Let this campaign be one that rises above the manipulative racial code words of the past.

And I call on Governor Carter and Senator Mondale, on President Ford and Governor Reagan, on all candidates in this election year, to publicly affirm their commitment to the **Brown** decission, to publicly denounce recourse to violence as a means of dealing with social and educational issues,and to publicly urge local authorities to comply with the law.

America's ethnic and racial problems are not new, they were present at its birth and have ebbed and flowed with time. So too, have the still unresolved issues of poverty and urban want. A hundred years ago, on the occasion of America's Centennial, Thomas Huxley said:

> "As population thickens in your great cities and the pressure of want is felt, the gaunt spectre of pauperism will stalk among you . . . Truly America has a great future before her: Great in toil, in care, and in responsibility; Great in true glory if she be guided in wisdom and righteous-

ness; great in shame if she fail."

Huxley's predictions of the coming urban crisis have come to pass, and the jury is still out on whether America's future shall shine in glory or be dishonored in shame.

America's future will be secured not by looking back at the tangled past, but by looking ahead to our next two hundred years. To that end, this National Urban League Conference is devoted to raising the issues that should be embodied in a new Bill of Rights extending traditional American freedoms.

Thus, we will consider such issues as:

- **The right to education** *preparing all children for fuller, freer lives;*
- **The right to economic security** which includes the right to a decent job at a decent wage for all and an income maintenance program that replaces the welfare system;
- **The right to health** and the need for a national health insurance policy that ensures decent health care for all;
- **The right to family stability** enabling families to survive the relentless pressures of poverty and discrimination;
- **The right to representation** enabling minorities to achieve full participation in the poliitical process; and
- **The right to safe communities** so that no neighborhood need live in fear of crime and violence.

And implicit in these rights is the **right of our cities to survive** to prosper, and to flourish as the centers of our economy and of our civilization, thus fulfilling their historic role in human history.

New York City's fiscal crisis symbolizes the bind many cities find themselves in -- erosion of the tax base combined with declining public services. Instead of a creative response to this dilema, cities are told to make even greater budget cuts and brutal slashes in services, which only compound and perpetuate urban problems.

America's fate is bound to the fate of its cities. Urban problems are national in origin and demand national solitions. And it is up to our national leadership to recognize its responsibilities for dealing with the urban crisis.

The revenue sharing program was cynically oversold as an answer to urban problems. Revenue sharing merely throws money at all state and local governments, whether they need it or not. Revenue sharing can become a vehicle for helping troubled cities only if its aid formula is revised so that funds are distributed based on need, and if strong civil rights enforcement and citizen participation are built into the program. Those federal dollars have to be sharply targeted to solve problems, not scattered to all comers.

The problems facing the cities ought to be a main theme of this year's crucial election campaign. The candidates have yet to address themselves to the issues that affect America's millions who are still ill-housed, ill-fed and ill-clad. And to that end, black people and poor people have to make their needs felt by voting.

Black citizens have a special responsibility to build on the bitter sacrifices of the past and to exercise the right to vote, a right bought with blood, tears and suffering.

There are over fourteen million black people of voting age but only about eight million are registered to vote and an even smaller number go to the polls. In the last Congressional election, about a third of blacks voted, and in last spring's primaries, less than a third of black registered voters went to the polls.

Black people face too many disadvantages to afford the luxury of ignoring the biggest weapon in our arsenal of self-defense — the vote. There can be no excuse for self-induced powerlessness. We have a responsibility to register, to understand the issues and how they affect black people, to vote, and to get our friends and neighbors to vote.

The goal of the black community ought to be 76 in '76 — getting a minimum of 76 percent of eligible black citizens to register and to vote on Election Day, 1976. Close to eleven million black votes represent power.

The black vote can elect the next President of the United States. The black vote can decide who goes to the Senate in many states. The black vote can decide who goes to Congress in at least 120 districts. The black vote can help secure black interest; it can bring aid to our friends, and retribution to our enemies. We know from recent political history that the black vote can giveth and can taketh away. Blessed be the name of the black vote.

So let us get out that sleeping giant of American Politics, the black vote.

The Urban League has never endorsed candidates and we will not do so this year. We have no partisan interest in favoring one party or another; rather our role is to encourage black voters to participate in both parties and on all levels of party life. We want blacks to influence both major candidates. We don't want one party to take us for granted, and the other party to ignore us. We want **in** with both parties, with both candidates.

This was the year for the Urban League and other black community organizations to conduct massive non-partisan voter registration and educational drives. But this is the year when the Foundations chose to reflect the negativism of the country; when they proved fearful and timid. Thus, the Foundation community has abandoned its responsibility to help mold a concerned, educated electorate, and refused to help overcome the effects of years of exclusion of black citizens from the political process.

So the Foundations won't help anymore — but we'll do it alone. The Urban League is committed to non-partisan voter registration and education to increase black participation in the democratic process. I urge every Urban League affiliate to make a maximum effort to go into its community and encourage people to register, to understand the issues and to vote on Election Day.

The Urban League will do its part in making it 76 percent in '76.

Every single additional black registered voter increases the chances that the candidates will begin talking about the real issues of urban decay and unemployment.

And one of the real, hidden issues no one is talking about these days is the terrible question of youth unemployment.

The National Urban League has been urging a National Full Emplyment Policy that guarantees jobs for all and we are now seeing some interest in that plan, but most of the current job-creation proposals deal only with adult employment. No one is talking about the masses of young people between the ages of 16 and 24 who are out of school and out of work and doomed to wasted lives.

It is unconscionable for America to move into its third century with what appears to be a deliberate policy of reducing its greatest resource — young people — to the rubbish-heap of economic surplus and dependency. While some are allowed through the gates of opportunity to take their place in the economy, milllions of others are shut off from jobs, from training, and from the skills needed for future survival.

The awful facts speak for themselves:

- The official unemployment rate for blacks 16 to 19 years old is over 40 percent; the Urban League's Hidden Unemployment Index shows the true figure at 64 percent.
- A third of all black men and women between the ages 20 and 24 are jobless, and that includes young black men who laid their lives on the line during the Vietnam conflict.
- Black young people have been so relentlessly excluded from job opportunities that they've dropped out of the labor force in unprecedented nimbers. Back in 1950, two out of three black men 16 to 19, were counted in the labor force, by 1975 only two out of five were in the labor force. And during that period, the percentage of white teenagers in the labor force actually rose. In the next age group, 20 to 24, labor force participation rates for black men dropped by almost ten percentage points in the past fifteen years.

Those young people didn't drop out of the labor force because they suddenly inherited large fortunes and retired to the islands. No! They were pushed out of the labor force. The opportunities for entry-level jobs declined and a new wall of credentialism was placed around many of those that remained, leaving millions of young people out of the running for jobs that used to be theirs. We see the tragedy of many of our young people — our future — pushed out of both school and the labor force. Denied the opportunity to equip themselves for self-sufficiency, they face enforced idleness, frustration, the temptations of the street,and lifetimes of poverty and dependence. These young people are like Ralph Ellison's **Invisible Man**; invisible because our society refuses to see them, to notice them, to help them.

Thus, America grooms millions of black and white youngsters for marginal existence; it fosters a future expansion of its welfare rolls, and it nurtures the smoldering fires of anger and rebellion.

America cannot write off a whole generation of young people. The American economy cannot survive its third century without utilizing the skills and talents and

latent resources of its young people. The American social system cannot survive the threat of significant numbers of its young people deprived of a stake in society. We must not become a nation at war with its future.

Therefore, the National Urban League tonight urges a National Youth Employment Program that would include:

- Establishment, by law, of the right of all young people to the education and job-training experiences that will equip them for full participation in the economy.
- Passage of necessary laws, executive orders and the bringing of appropriate legal action to ensure that young people ars not discriminated against in the job market by reason of age.
- Formation of federal Youth Employment Agency to deal with problems of youth employment and to provide expanded opportunities for young people.
- Massive federal job-creation programs aimed specifically at young people, including public service jobs, expanded school-to-work programs, and incentives to the private sector. Such programs should be designed for maximum use of local community groups, with national coordination by the proposed Youth Employment Agency.

Just as young people were employed in saving our forest and streams in the old Civilian Conservation Corps, so too can today's young people find constructive work on the urban frontier in an Urban Conservation Corps that helps rehabilitate run-down housing, provides manpower for undernourished public services, and at the same time, gives young people training, work habits, and marketable skills.

- And the private sector has a vital role to play too. Tonight I call for a voluntary effort by every corporation to sharply expand its job oppportunities for young people, including the removal of unrealistic demands for unnecessary credentials, increased part-time work opportunities for in-school youth, and training programs.

We are not proposing a spending program; we are proposing an investment program that will pay off throughout out third century.

We of the Urban League Movement have experienced with the kind of investment in human resources that pays off, and pays off well. For the past nine years, our Labor Education Advancement Program has been recruiting and training young people for jobs in the construction trades. Some of these young people were on welfare. Some of them were on street corners and some of them, yes, some of them were keeping body and soul together in hustling and in crime. Many were high school dropouts. Most were on the outermost margins of our society, part of the growing pool of invisible black people ignored by the statistics-keepers.

Over the nine years of LEAP's life, the government has invested $22 million in the program. Last year alone, LEAP's 16,000 placements paid $31 million in taxes — or nine million more than Washington's total investment over the whole nine years. LEAP's placements earned a cumulative $380 million and their total taxes have come to $90 million. That means for every dollar the government put into LEAP, it got four back.

So we're not talking about spending, we're talking about an investment in the productive capacity of our nation and its people, an investment that will more than pay for itself in tax receipts and in brighter futures for our people.

The Urban League will fight for a National Youth Employment Program, and we will also "make youth employment opportunities a major thrust of out programmatic activities in the comming year.

The survival of black Americans — and indeed all Americans depend in part upon the ability of all young people to become an integral part of this economy. the alternative will be for an increasingly expendable, marginal population subject to oppression and dehumanization by a hostile society.

I have seen just how horrible that can be. I have seen the horrors wrought by an oppressive apartheid system against black people denied jobs, education, and the fundamental rights of human beings. I saw this last month in the racist state of South Africa.

While we of the Urban League movement discuss a new Bill of Rights, black people in South Africa have no rights at all.

The white minority, numbering perhaps one-sixth of South Africa's population, has imposed upon black people the neo-slavery of apartheid. Black children are denied education. Schooling is free and compulsory for whites, while blacks are charged for their non-compulsory school. For every dollar spent on black education,

17 are spent on white education.

The job reservation system keeps blacks out of skilled work when whites are available to do it, and pay differentials result in four out of five black workers getting below even the South African government's poverty level.

The job reservation system keeps blacks out of skilled work when whites are available to do it, and pay differentials result in four out of five black workers getting below even the South African government's poverty level.

In their own land, the land of their fathers, black people cannot own property, cannot vote, cannot bargain collectively and cannot strike. Black people are subjected to petty apartheid, or separate facilities, but even more devastating is the divide and conquer policy known as "separate development."

Separate development means the black majority could be forced onto reservations on 13 percent of the land area of the country. In these "homelands" South Africa proposes to create several mini-states for blacks. Instead of participating in a democratic, mulit-racial society in all of South Africa, black people would be citizens of the "homeland" areas and would be permitted into the 87 percent of the country designated as "white" only as migrant workers without any rights at all.

Thus, separate development is a fancy term behind whose sanitized facade the white minority proposes to continue to subjugate and brutalize black people.

Black Americans have a stake in this situation. First, we are tied to the African Continent by bonds of race and origin. Second, we are Americans, and our interest in our country's future demands we take an active interest in its foreign policy, most especially when that foreign policy has ignored Black Africa while supporting the white supremacist governments of southern Africa.

A bloody race war there is in no one's interest, least of all that of a majority black population vastly outgunned by the state's forces. Our policy should be to encourage peaceful change through the inclusion of black South Africans as full partners in their country.

Our government must make it clear that it finds apartheid intolerable and that unless South Africa changes its course it can expect neither aid nor sympathy, even if it is invaded by outside forces. Our government has shown itself adept at influencing other nations; it can now apply some of that talent toward pushing South Africa to change.

And this is an issue of profound importance to American corporations with interests in South Africa. The black South Africans I met were unequivocable in their opinion that American corporations should not withdraw from South Africa. They told me they need the jobs those corporations bring. But they also told me those corporations should make better use of their economic clout to pierce the walls of apartheid. Corporate leaders often justify their presence in South Africa with claims that they are a force for liberalization of that nation's racial climate. Thus, they should be responsive to new initiatives that will influence South Africa's rulers.

So tonight I propose American corporations with investments in South Africa take positive action to help South Africa change. I Propose that all American corporations involved in South Africa's economy come together in a **Corporate Alliance for Black Progress** a joint declaration that would include:

- A statement to the government of South Africa opposing the system of apartheid and urging justice for black people;
- Demands to the South African government for changes in labor laws that American companies say block their effors to upgrade black workers and pay them fair wages;
- Standards of social responsibility setting forth specific steps each company pledges itself to follow in the areas of affirmative action, education, and housing.
- A promise to disregard the trappings of petty apartheid imposed by law. This means taking down the "white" and "black" signs and integrating their public facilities in the full knowledge that no South African government would punish multi-national corporations that ignore such inhuman rules;
- A moratorium on future investment in South Africa until some signs of changed policy are given;
  Refusal to invest in the homeland areas so long as they remain the cornerstone of a policy that denies to black South Africans citizenship in all of South Africa.

In this way our government and our multi-national corporations can become

forces for positive change. The alternative is to await the inevitable explosion and see America's prestige and economic interest throughout the Continent swept away in righteous anger.

The links between the developing giant that is Africa and this great nation are held strong through 25 million black Americans for whom Africa is the motherland. Our forebearers came from there, not on the Mayflower, but in the stifling holds of slave ships.

More than ever, in this Bicentennial Year, we must remind a forgettin nation that we did not pass the Statute of Liberty and read its enduring words, "Give me your tired, you poor, your huddled masses yearning to breathe free ... I lift my lamp beside the Golden Door."

No lamp was lifted for us. Our golden door led to white cotton fields. We did not breathe freedom until 1865 and even then it was fouled by the stench of oppression and exploitation. But we survived. We endured. We overcame.

In this Bicentennial, we are here to say that we survived. We are here to remind this nation that its hero, George Washington, owned his fellow man. We are here to say that Thomas Jefferson, who wrote so eloquently about liberty, denied it to his own slaves. We are here to point to the fatal flaw in America's mythology, a flaw that overlooks the hypocrisy of the men who led its revolution, the hypocrisy of the words they wrote about freedom while it was denied to black people, the hypocrisy of today's America that extols democracy but tolerates abject poverty and ghetto slums.

We are here to remind this nation that black people remain among the few who truly believe in the inalienable rights of man, in freedom and in equality. No matter how dark the night, it was black people who kept aloft the torch of freedom and justice.

Let's tell our fellow American that we were here before the Pilgrims landed, that the first revolt for freedom on this Continent was not by white Englishmen in 1776, but by black Africans in 1526 in what is now South Carolina.

Let's tell our fellow Americans that two years before the slaveholders signed the Declaration of Independence, black people filed a petition to the Massachusetts General Assembly declaring that: "We have in common with all other men a natural right to our freedoms without being deprived of them as we are a freeborn people and have never forfeited this blessing by any compact or agreement whatever." Black people didn't need Jefferson to tell them about the rights of man!

Yes, let us talk in this Bicentennial of our black heroes whose dogged strength helped to keep us whole and to suvive — not only the Frederick Douglasses, the Martin Kings, the Malcoms and the Whitney Youngs, but those proud heroes whose names are lost to most of us today.

I'm thinking of people like Robert E. Morris, one of the first black lawyers in our history, who in 1849 sued the Boston school system for forcing a little black girl to attend a segregated school instead of the white school near her home. That was in 1849, one hundred and five years before **Brown**. It took America 105 years to catch up to Robert Morris' argument that "the separation of the schools, so far from being for the benefit of both races is an injury to both."

I'm thinking too of a country preacher from Muskogee County, Georgia, who in 1944 decided he had the right to vote in the white primary in Georgia and he wasn't going to be inimidated. So Primus King filed suit and the case, King vs. Chapman, killed the white primary system and started the ball rolling to secure the right of black people to vote in Georgia.

When Primus King stood up in Georgia, not only did he stand alone but there was no mass influx of reporters and TV cameras to protect him through publicity. But Primus King stood firm like the tree planteth by the rivers of water, and said, "Black people got the right to vote," and he was not moved, not intimidated, not weakened in his resolve.

Too many of us don't know who Primus King is but we ought to be familiar with his contributions and with those of other brave black people who rose from the masses to bear witness in the black struggle for freedom.

The civil rights movement wasn't just Martin and Whitney and Roy, it was people courageous and unsung who one day rose up and said we're not taking any more. It was people like the lady who declined a ride during the Montgomery Bus Boycott, saying, "My feet is tired but my soul is rested." It was people like Fannie Lou Hamer, who said, "I'm sick and tired of being sick and tired." It was students who

marched through firehose attacks and braved police dogs and got beated and died so that black people could be free.

And we've got heroes today, too. Those black children from Roxbury who braved the stones thrown at their buses are heroes. Those folk in every community in this land who get out the black vote, who go to work from sunup to sundown, who raise their kids in city ghettos and parched rural farms, who make do with a few dollars from welfare to bring their kids up in dignity, who inspire their children to go on the college — they're all our heroes because they carry on black survival and hold their heads high in the face of adversity.

Black people helped make this country. We planted America's taters, we toted its cotton, we lifted its bales. We sank the canals and laid the railroad tracks that link the Atlantic and the Pacific. The tree of liberty is watered with our blood, our sweat and our tears. We've died in every war from Valley Forge to Vietnam.

So now we're telling America now is the time to do right by us; now is the time to deliver on those broken promises. Now is the time for a new Bill of Rights with guaranteed jobs, urban and youth programs, income maintenance, and national health insurance. We've kept our faith in this land, and now is the time for this land to show its faith in us. Now is the time for this land to show its faith in us. Now is the time, America, to let the light of freedom shine on all your children; now is the time to make the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution real for all, now is the time to listen to our dreams, our hopes, and our needs.

Now is the time for all Americans to listen to the words of our anthem, to really listen to the words of our anthem, to really listen to what James Weldon Johnson wrote:

> "Stony the road we trod,
> Bitter the chastening rod, Felt in the days when hope unborn had died;
> Yet with a steady beat,
> Have not our wary feet,
> Come to the place for which our fathers sighed?
>
> We have come over a way that with tears have been watered.
> We have come, treading our path through the blood of the slaughtered,
> Out from the gloomy past,
> Till now we stand at last,
> Where the white gleam of our bright star is cast."

This is our history. This is our legacy. This is our hope!
Let this Conference Begin!

At the conclusion of his keynote speech Mr. Jordan made the following presentation.

Mr. Jordan: If we may have your attention for just another moment please.

I have a special pleasure tonight, that is to call to the dais a man whom I talked about in my speech. I'd like for the Reverend Primus King of Muscogie County, Georgia, to come up here.

I have the great pleasure to present to a great man, an unsung hero in the black community. One who in 1944 stood all by himself. The day that they went to the courthouse, all of his collagues in the black community went with him and the sheriff 'wolfed' at him a little bit. Primus looked around and all of the brothers and sisters had deserted him. But you stayed right there, didn't you Primus? He was kind enough to come up to the National Urban League Conference so that he could recieve this award tonight. It reads, "The National Urban League Inc. presents this award of outstanding citizenship to Primus King in recognition of his courage in successfully challenging the white primary in Georgia in the historic case of King v. Chatman, 1945 (327 US 800) Vernon E. Jordan, Jr., Executive Director, Donald H. McGannon, President".

Mr. King: I hardly know what to say. In 1944, they threatened to throw me in the river. They called us Negro back in those days. I told them, you put so many Negroes in the river for nothing and I'm willing to go in there for something.

This man here is my friend. I'm not going to call him an executive, I'm going to call him my brother. You know when a man can be your brother, he's better than anything in the world, better than a Ph.D.

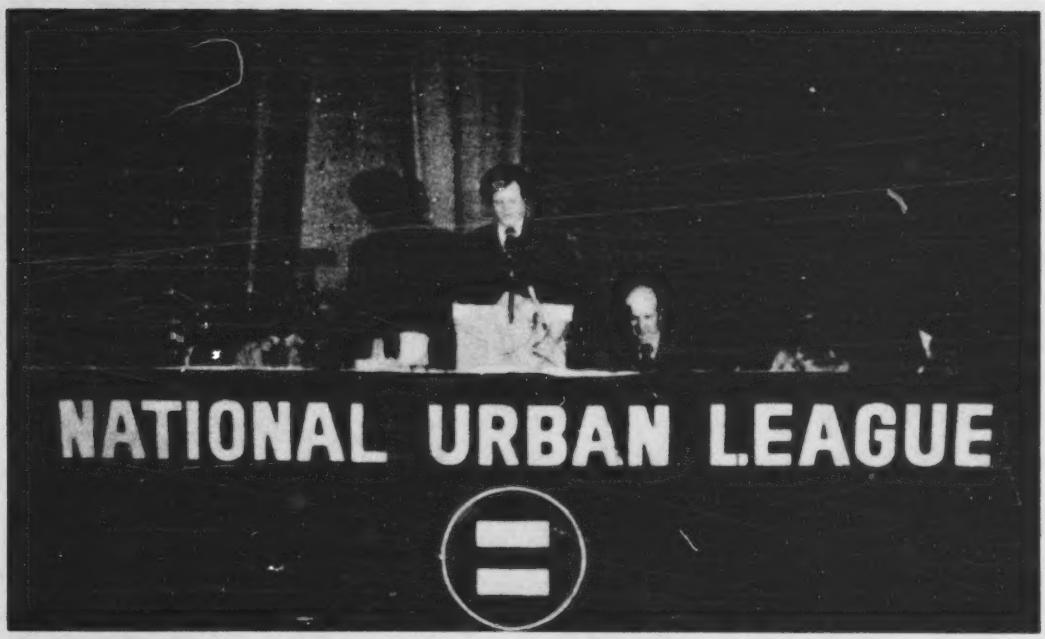
Mr. McGannon: Would Mrs. Primus King who is with us this evening please stand and show this congregation what a real liberated woman looks like.

Dr. Haynes: Let us Pray. In your infinite mercy, oh God, you have loaned us this day, the beginning of a new week, our week, to chart a New Bill of Rights, for the oppressed and the have-nots of America. We thank You for today, Oh God.

It has been a good day. You have allowed your sunshine to burst forth and smile upon us after the clouds and the rain. A symbol of hope for the deliberations of this great Urban League gathering. Open our eyes this week to poverty, racism, deprivation and hurt that imprisons thousands across this nation and this city.

Give us the courage to deliberate, resolve, propose and demand that government, business and the academic sector surrender full rights and full opportunities to the have-nots and oppressed of our country, to the end that our Bicentennial gathering shall not be in vain.

Grant that Boston will not be the same because we met here. Bless us, watch over us and grant that in this Bicentennial year, the Urban League will write history in Boston on the pages of America, and Your truth may go marching on, in Your name we pray. Amen.



55

Monday, August 2, 1976 — 9:00 a.m.

The Right to Family Stability

Presiding:

Lucy Wilson Benson
NUL Trustee

Introduction:

Donald H. McGannon, President, National Urban League; President and Chairman of the Board, Westinghouse Broadcasting Company

Welcome:

The Honorable Michael S. Dukakis Governor, Commonwealth of Massachusetts

Guest Speaker:

Andrew Billingsley, President, Morgan State University, Baltimore, Maryland

Mr. McGannon: I have the distinct honor this morning to introduce the Chief Executive Officer of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, the Honorable Michael S. Dukakis. Governor we are delighted to have you with us.

Gov. Dukakis: Good morning, it is a very great pleasure for me to be here and be able to add my brief welcome to all of the words of welcome which I'm sure you've heard and will continue to hear from those of us in Boston and in Massachusetts. We are particularly pleased that you are with us. For a while we were a little fearful you wouldn't be. I'm very grateful to all of you and your leadership for sticking with us in a time of real difficulty for the city and for the state. I'm happy to say to you I think we are on the verge of solving our problems in this great city and moving forward to real educational quality for our young people in the city of Boston and all across the state. We appreciate very much your commitment to us in the city.

I understand you've had a good conference so far. I hope that will continue and expect it will continue for the rest of the balance of the week during which you will be meeting with us. Let me also say I'm very, very pleased that you've picked the theme **Toward a New Bill of Rights** for this conference. I was particularly pleased at Vernon Jordan's remarks last night on the subject of jobs and employment particularly for our young people.

I know this is not a place for partisanship. I hope nothing I say this morning will be interpreted as that. But I've just spent a great deal of my time over the last couple of months participating very actively in the drafting of a party platform for my party. I hope and I believe we were responsive during the course of that process. As Vernon Jordan said to you last night as I so often want to say, the most important single, social program in this nation is full employment. The most important single program in this nation is full employment. If this country of ours, with its great riches, affluence, talent and its great ability, cannot in the year of 1976, let us hope beginning in January of 1977, marshal those resources, talent and abilities to get the people of this country back to work in productive and constructive and worthwhile employment opportunities, it seems to me there is something radically wrong with us as a nation and as a people.

There is no excuse for the current economic state of affairs in this country. We cannot share in that growth and in that prosperity without a national commitment to the simple proposition that every man and woman in this country who is ready, willing and able to work ought to have a job and a good one.

I don't know that all of the things we are trying to do at the state and local level these days will really mean that much. We are doing things. I'm very proud of the fact we have an administration in this state which has brought more black and Spanish speaking people into high positions of administrative and policy-making responsibility than all of the previous administrations in this state combined.

I'm very proud of the fact we've been able again to be first among states to do something about the subject of mortgage and bank redlining by creating for the first

Michael S. Dukakis

time a mechanism within which the denial of mortgages in our older urban neighborhoods and communities can be reviewed by a joint committee of bankers and community people who have final say in the awarding or denial of mortgages and mortgage facilities to the residents and people of our urban neighborhoods.

I'm very proud of the fact we have put together as a state, a growth policy which emphasizes the revitalization of our older urban communities. That's where the needs are. That's where the employment needs are. That's where the people are that need jobs. That's what every state and every community ought to be doing as we try to target our resources and target our state and local investments into those older urban communities. That ought to be in a very real sense the new towns of the last quarter of the 20th century. Thank you.

Ms. Benson: Our speaker is Andrew Billingsley. The noted and notable social scientist, social worker, professor, academician and scholar, writer and administrator. He has taught at Howard, and at the University of California, at Berkeley. At Howard he was Vice President for academic affairs, and is now President of Morgan State University.

He is a renowned author of books and articles. His most recent book *Black Families and the Struggle for Survival: Teaching Our Children to Walk Tall* was published in 1974. His first book, *Black Families in White America* was published in 1968 and was written with the assistance of Amy Tate Billingsley. It was a landmark in social research and analysis. It broke through the mythologies created by years of analysis and writing about the black families from the white point of view.

It established a new and rational basis for the study of the black family in white America from the vantage point of the independent history of the black people and particularly of the black family. It established in a thoroughly scholarly fashion, with wide influence in both academia and in the world of social thinking, the basic racist nature of our society. Brothers and sisters it is a very great honor to present to you Dr. Andrew Billingsley. Andy.

Dr. Billingsley: I am honored and delighted to be here with you on this historic occasion and in this historic City. All of us must fervently hope and earnestly work for the day when this great City will again take a leadership role in helping this nation live out the true meaning of the American creed.

In this Bicentennial Year of the nation's birth, we are all reminded of the basic rights of all Americans and all mankind. We hold these truths to be self-evident — that all persons are created equal — that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienble rights, that among these are life, and the pursuit of happiness.

We are reminded that the God who gave us life, gave us liberty at the same time. We are free men and women, boys and girls, because we were born free.

Last night in his remarkable Keynote Address, Vernon Jordan set forth a new Bill of Rights which provides among other things, a right of every person to meaningful, strong, viable and stable family life. The right to life, therefore, is the right to family life. The family is the most basic institution among any people. And for black people, it has been the family more than any other factor which has enabled us to survive as a people and to overcome, and to achieve.

But the right to family life is not the right to only certain forms of family. The human condition is varied for its varied people at various times in their various histories. Consequently, the forms which families take — the structures of family life must also vary from people to people and from time to time. The nuclear family union — mother, father and $2^1/_2$ children living together in the same house is a most valuable family form. But there are other valuable forms as well. And no one, not the government, nor the Urban League, nor writers of books, must seek to impose on everyone the same uniform pattern of family life. For the God who gave us life gave us liberty at the same time. At the same time!

What we must insist upon is a family for every person. And insofar as possible, family forms of a people's own choosing.

What we must insist upon is that society provides the conditions and the resources to enable families to be viable, that is, enable them to meet the needs of their members and the legitimate demands of society whatever their form.

To the extent, then, that we are concerned about family stability, let us bear in mind the following:

There are several factors which contribute towards stable patterns of family life. Chief among these are: 1) adequate income, 2) good education, 3) stable occupation, 4) adequate housing and 5) positive community relationships. Children and families who experience these five conditions are much more likely to experience stable patterns of family life than children and families without these basic resources.

Lucy Wilson Benson

In other words, the question of how to develop stable patterns of family life in any community, and especially in the black community, is much more simply answered if we reflect on the basic conditions which produce stability. Answers to why there is more or less stability in one community or another, at one time in history or another, over longer or shorter durations of time, depend not so much on the personal attitudes, attributes or even desires of individual family members. They depend more heavily on the basic conditions of life which surround these families. These five factors which help to maintain stability among families are also highly interrelated with each other. If you seek to raise your income, for example, it is important to raise your educational level. Conversely, if you have stable income, your chances of getting a higher education are substantially better. The reciprocal relationship of these factors upon the stability of family life is a most profound fact of life in modern society.

But both of these factors, income, and education, are influenced by racial and sexual factors in American society. Thus, if you are a white man with only an elementary school education, your medium income last year was $5,700 a year. If you are a black man with the same education, your medium income was $3,900. If you are a white women with the same level of education, your medium income was $2,300. And if you are a black woman, it was $1,900.

So even for the working person with elementary school education, there are both racial and sex disparities. If, however, you succeed in completing high school and you are a white male, your medium income would be $11,500. If you are a black male, your medium income would be $8,700. If you are a white female, your medium income would be $4,100 and if you are a black female, your medium income would be $4,400.

If perchance you are successful in completing college and are white, your medium income would be $15,400 as compared to $5,700 as an elementary school graduate. If you are a black male, your medium income would be $10,954 as a college graduate compared to $3,900 as an elementary school graduate. If you are a white female, your medium income would be $7,100 as a college graduate compared to $2,300 as an elementary school graduate. And if you are a black female, your medium income would be $8,900 a year as a college graduate compared to $1,900 as elementary school graduate.

So whatever your race or sex, it is better to have more education. But this holds truer for some groups than other groups. It is therefore very, very difficult indeed for men and women with only elementary school education to make stable patterns of family life. Even with high levels of education and income, it is more difficult for black families than white families because of other pressures that black families experience in this race-conscious society.

We could examine all the other major factors that influence family stability in the same way. When they hang together, they induce and enhance family stability. If any of these factors are missing, family stability is in jeopardy.

But stability, as important as it is, is not the only basis for determining the well-being of families; it may not even be the most important. For black families have been historically left out of the mainstream of American society and there is no basis for a reasonable assumption that all of the factors which enhance stability are present. In other words, who ever heard of any significant number of black families, who for any substantial period of time, were characterized by 1) high education, 2) high income, 3) adequate housing, 4) positive community relationship and 5) stable occupation? That is simply not the reality for black folk in America. So to judge black families by the level of stability, if stability requires these five conditions, is to impose a harsh sentence on black families from which they cannot easily escape. In other words, it is like blaming the victims for conditions which society imposes upon them.

Thus, when we ask how far in the black community must we look for measures beyond stability, we must ask, instead, how well does the family function? How well does resources meet the available needs of the family? How well does it serve the needs of its members?

Andrew Billingsley

When we pose these kinds of questions, we are forced to examine the harsh reality that black families exist in a largely indifferent and often hostile society.

Indeed the real conditions of life for black Americans have been admirably summed up in a National Urban League Study on the State of Black America in 1976. Taking strong issue with the State of the Nation as reported by both Republican and Democratic leaders, this study found that the conditions of life for Black Americans was getting worse. In the economic area, poverty was again on the increase. Even among middle income black families, there was a sharp decline from about a fourth of all black families to about a fifth. And the median income for all black families which had risen slowly to about 61 percent of white family income by 1969, had fallen back to 58 percent by 1975. Perhaps the most telling statistic of all is that when it comes to unemployment; blacks have been in a constant state of economic depression for the past twenty years. The country became alarmed recently when white unemployment passed the 6 percent mark for the first time since the great Depression. That is truly alarming. But what is not generally appreciated is that black unemployment has never been less than 6 percent for the past twenty years.

To expect increasing family stability in the face of this condition is to strain the credibility of fair-minded observers.

Or take the field of housing. We all know that the homebuilding industry has suffered greatly during the past few years. The National Urban League study concluded that the modest gains made in homeownership among blacks in the decade of the 1960s where homeownership rose from 38 percent to 42 percent had been virtually wiped out by the 1975 recession. The persistence of housing discrimination, the absence of a governmental policy for low-income housing all combined to keep the substantial majority of low-income blacks in a chronic state of housing inadequacy. How dare we speak of family stability under these conditions.

Or take the matter of health care. The pressures of life take their toll on longevity. Thus while white women may anticipate a life expectancy of 76.7 years, black women may count on only 71.3. And while white men may anticipate 68.9, black men may look forward to only 62.9. Six precious years of life robbed by the ravages of racism. Little wonder that Inabell Lindsay has recommended that eligibility for social security benefits should come earlier for black men and women than for their white counterparts. Such sound reasoning and commitment to equality is not likely to receive any consideration, however, in a national administration which seems immune to problems of human suffering.

And so in one area of life after another, the story is similar, causing Vernon Jordan to conclude that despite some minor gains for blacks, 1975 on the eve of the nation's Bicentennial, represented a disaster year for black Americans and for the idea of equality in America. He concluded, "the growing number of blacks without jobs, the increasing gap between white and black income, new public displays of racism and the negative attitude of policy-makers toward programs that aid the poor, marked the year as one of increasing hardship for black America."

How then could a reasonable person expect to see rising levels of stability in black American families? The wonder is — indeed the miracle is — not in the face of all these hardships; the majority of black American families maintain their integrity.

But if children have a right to stability, they also have a right to success and achievement. For many black children, the presence or absence of success is not at all determined by the degree of family stability. It is often determined by other factors about which we know very little.

We know so little about this, because social researchers have not been asking the right questions. As an educator and a social scientist, I am very concerned research in America often overlooks the most important questions bearing on black life. Too much research is focused for example on the problem of stability and not enough on sources of achievement in black family life. Some of you will remember that this is a central theme of **Black Families in White America**, of **Children of the Storm** and also of **Black Families and the Struggle for Survival.** Seek not to know, how and why blacks show up unfavorably when compared with whites on all the standard measures of stability. The answers are already much too obvious. There is no equality of basic conditions which produce stability. So let's stop beating that dead horse. Seek instead to know it is that black people as a people as families and as individuals continue to survive, to reach levels of outstanding achievement, and to make remarkable contributions to society despite racism, inordinate hardship, and yes, even despite unstable family forms. If we can answer these questions we

will be in a much better position to help design policies which will be sensitive to the black condition even without having a black label on them. I am therefore very pleased to note that a number of younger black scholars are turning their attention to this type of analysis. The Urban League's own Bob Hill and Bob Austin have made outstanding contributions to this type of knowledge through the facilities of the Research Department of the National Urban League and their regular and periodic reports.

And as we observed in **Black Families in White America** in order to understand and develop strategies for the strengthening of black families, we must look both to the external society and within the black community itself. In this respect, Eleanor Holmes Norton's paper at last year's National Urban League Meeting struck a strong and responsive cord: "Our family life is too basic", she said, "to be left to the fortuities of politics. We must make the government help strengthen black families even as its policies have too often torn them asunder. But we cannot avoid personal responsibility as well." She called on us to reassess the positive contributions which can be made within the black community itself toward family well-being. "Our communities abound with churches, young people, organizations, clubs, neighborhood associations, civic groups, fraternities and sororities. "Over the years," she continued, "we have brilliantly used organizations to protect and to encourage, to shield and to fight. I suspect that the success of the black family over the generations owes much to just such organizational strength." Mrs. Norton calls on us to rejuvenate the contributions these groups can make to family life.

We need such internal strategies to accompany the external strategies outside the black community in order to strengthen black family life. In this effort, research when it is sensitively done can play a very constructive role. Two recent research studies by black scholars not yet completed promise to make a substantial contribution to our understanding of the internal dynamics of the black community which help to produce and to sustain high levels of achievement.

Both these studies are being conducted by young black scholars who have come to teach at Howard University during the past four years. Both are able to combine their scholarly abilities with a focus on the realities of black life. One is Mrs. Billye-Petite-Mans on the faculty of the School of Social Work.

Mrs. Petite-Mans has observed that if you consider some of the black people who represent substantial personal and social achievement, it is difficult to account for such achievement by standard measures designed to produce success. Often they will have achieved success under conditions which seem impossible. All of us know people like that. In this audience, I would say all you have to do is look in the mirror. She has observed further, however, that it sometimes happens that it is some person in the neighborhood, a neighbor, a minister, a teacher, a sunday school teacher, a club leader, a recreation attendant, or a librarian who has touched a sensitive spark in these individuals and helped give the boost necessary for achievement of major goals in life. She has elevated this simple observation to the level of a theoretical inquiry and is on the road to developing what I am sure will be a major contribution to social science. She asks this question: what is the role of significant others in the achievement of blacks from disadvantaged backgrounds? A simple question. Yet one which has been overlooked by a hundred years of social science research.

Another young faculty member in the School of Education is also pursuing a most meaningful type of research on the sources of black achievement. Professor Samuel L. Woodard has observed in his work with junior high school children that you often find children doing very, very well in school and in other aspects of their lives who come from backgrounds with all the strikes against them. Some children seem to thrive on adversity. All of us know youngsters such as these. And so he has recently convinced the Lilly Endowment to provide a $300,000 grant to support two years of research into this question.

Dr. Woodard has established four criteria for students in his study: 1) they must have at least one parent missing; 2) they must have income at the poverty level or below 3) they must live in sub-standard housing; and 4) they must exhibit solid academic achievement. In his search for the answers to how these children achieve despite overwhelming odds, Dr. Woodard engages in what he calls a search for himself. "My father died when I was two, my mother when I was six. I was raised by my sister Naomi, who quit school when she was 15 to take care of three brothers and a sister. I guess I want to know why I didn't end up in prison, or strung out on

dope, or all the other things that are supposed to happen to deprived blacks."

I am sure that Dr. Woodward will find as Mrs. Mann suspects that ordinary people not even related to these children often inspire and assist them in their strides toward achievement. They will find the family playing roles of support, encouragement and strength not associated with poor and struggling people as the social science literature portrays them. But they will also find, as Bob Hill and Lawrence Shackleford have found that the extended family is alive and still kicking in the black community. Aunts, uncles, cousins, older sisters and brothers, and the legendary grandparents. We just shipped our two children off to spend a month with their grandmother. How could we manage without some such strong support. And we know that nearly two-thirds of black children today who are not living in their own parents' home are living in the homes of their grandparents. Even in these modern times, of urban small family culture!

So we need to systematize these learnings about black life and achievement so that they become social laws. And then we need to help design social policies which respect these laws of black family life. We need social policies which reward extended family members for caring for children rather than punish them. And so with nonrelative significant others. And so with black organizations generally.

But we are not likely to get these sensitive social policies out of our national government, as long as the government relies on Harvard professors to tell them what is wrong with black people, instead of asking black scholars and working people what is right with black people and how to make it better. It was therefore very heartening a couple of years ago when Senator Walter Mondale began to invite black scholars and leaders to make inputs into the legislation his committee was formulating to strengthen family life. I had been complaining so much about being left out of government policy decisions, that when Senator Mondale's assistant called me and told me to testify, I thought he had the wrong school. Unfortunately, however, his legislation and all attempts at constructive social legislation have been thwarted by the negative attitude and veto-wielding national administrations of the past few years. Vernon reminded us last night that the Urban League is non-partisan. Without being at all partisan, we might all fervently hope and earnestly work to see that black voters and other fair-minded citizens as well rise up and express their demand for a change in governmental policy in the years ahead.

We need a family policy in this nation more than we need more anti-ballistic missiles. We need a full employment act, a comprehensive health care system, and we need educational equality. But more than specific legislation, we need a government and industry leadership class firmly committed to the public welfare, dedicated to the common good. And however you approach that mission, family life and the right to family life are central.

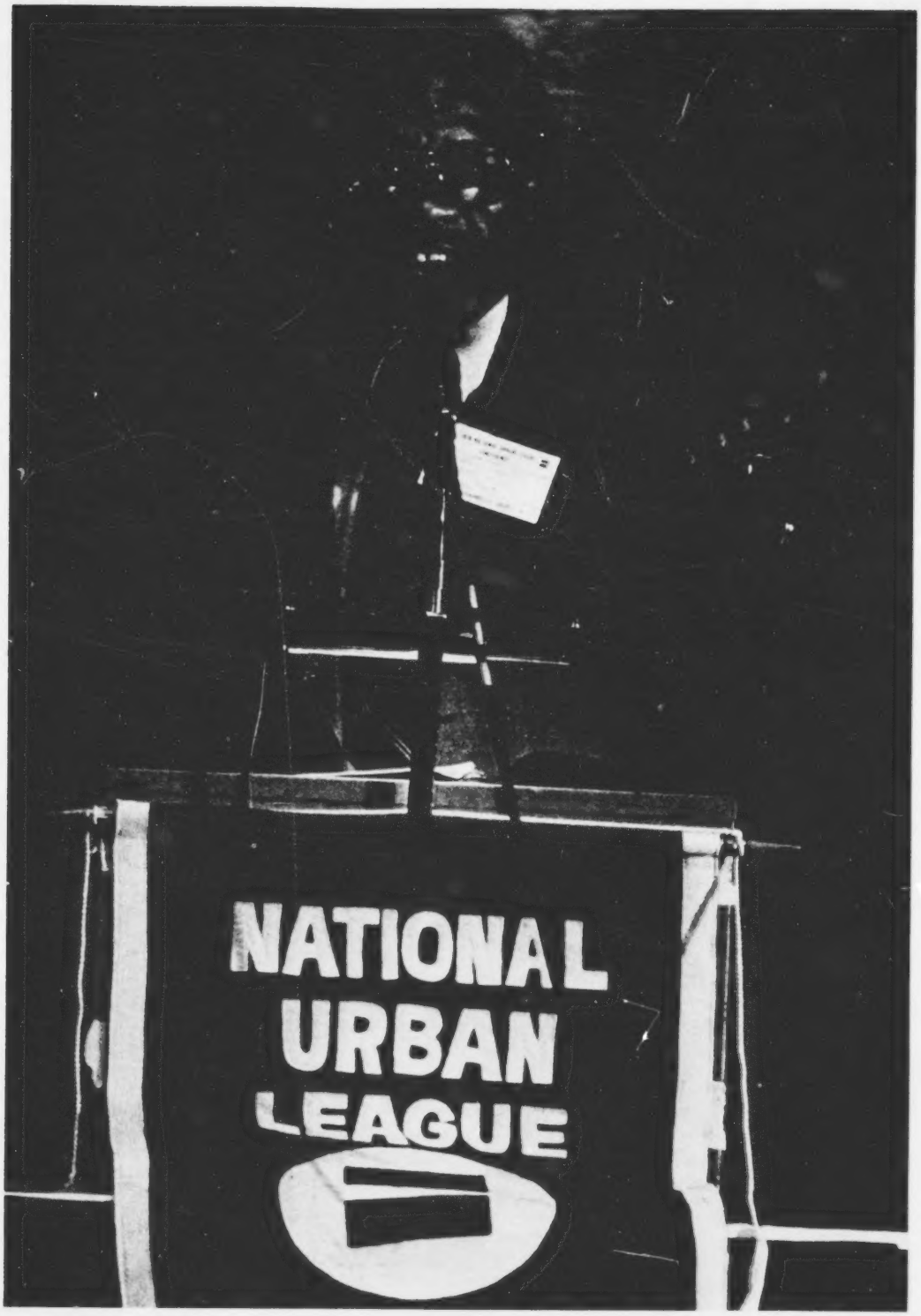
In this year of the nation's Bicentennial, we are reminded of the basic rights of Americans and of mankind generally. We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all persons are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienble rights, that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. We are reminded that the God who gave us life gave us liberty at the same time. But neither life nor liberty can have their true meaning without strong and viable family life. Not stability so much, but viability. The ability to meet the needs of its members whatever its structure is the key to family well-being.

Family life is the key. "Home," said the poet Robert Frost is where, when you go they have to take you in." What is it that gives the home this quality of acceptance and love, and forgiveness, and encouragement to move on? It is the family.

Yes 1975 and 1976 are rough years for our struggle and for our people. But there have been worse. We should take heart and follow the example of Langston Hughes' legendary mother speaking to her son:

"So boy, don't you turn back.
Don't you stop and set down on the steps.
Cause you finds it's kinder hard.
Don't you fall now —
For I's still goin' honey,
I's still climbing,
And life for me ain't been no crystal stair."

Ms. Benson: Thank you very much Dr. Billingsley.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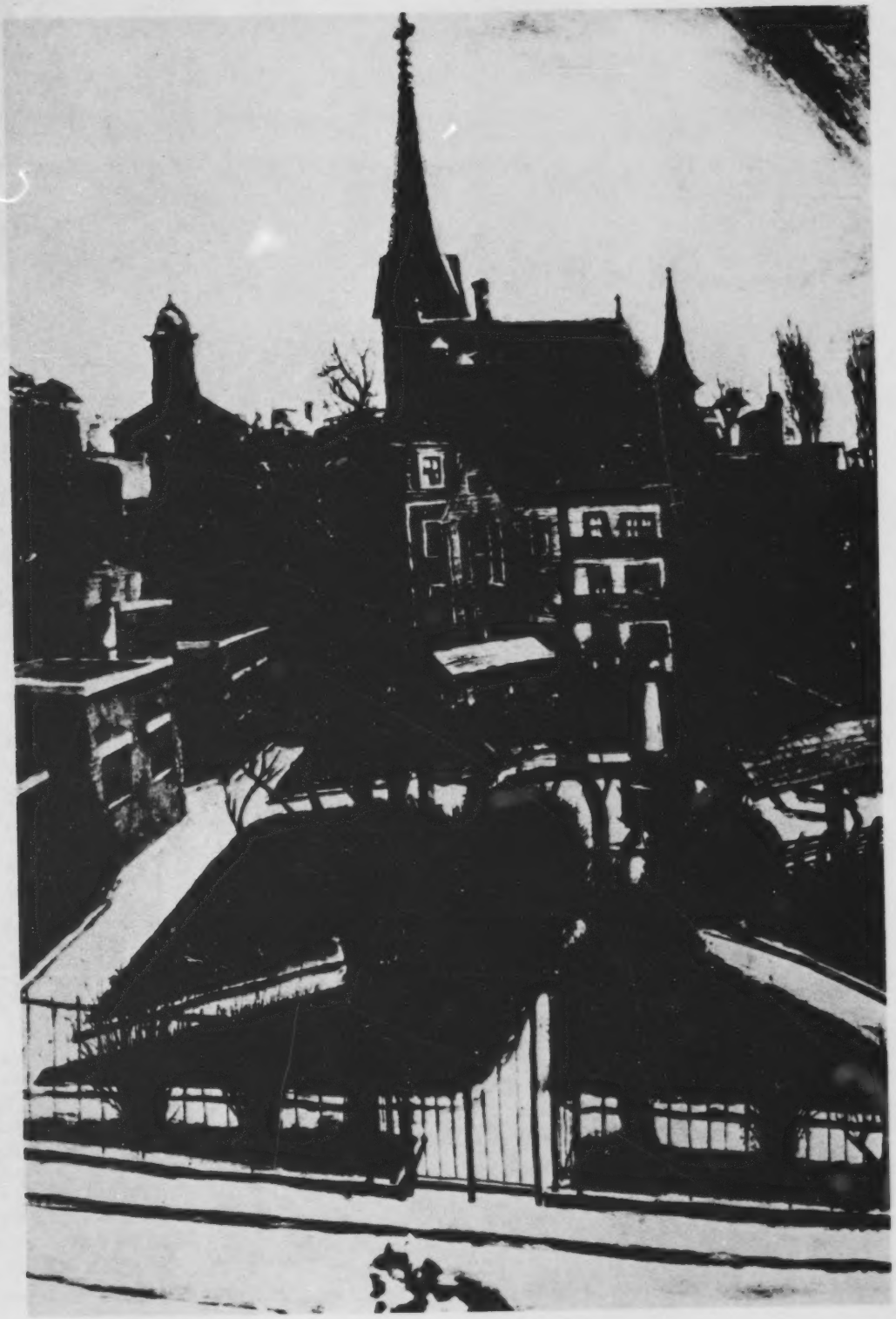


Monday, August 2, 1976 — 12:00 noon

Federal Resources Luncheon

Mayor White: Vernon, Madame Secretary, distinguished guests, members of the League, my role today at the luncheon is to welcome you to the city of Boston. I know that at annual events, it is traditional for the host mayor to extend words of cordiality. I have to confess that this role isn't really traditional with me. On more than one occasion I have tried to exempt myself. I have enough trouble providing hospitality for the local population than to worry about anybody else coming in. But in a very genuine sense, today is a special occasion.

Your presence just doesn't represent, and I think that you know it, a convocation or just another annual meeting in the city of Boston. Your presence in this city this week, is a statement. So my words are more than a welcome, they are of thanks, because of, as we all painfully know only too well, the trauma and the suffering of this city.

I think it is fair to say without exaggerated rhetoric, that the people of this city both black and white have gained for us, over the last two years, unfortunately, a national recognition which I have neither the desire to recite or really to remember.

Vernon Jordan's and the Board's decision, to come to Boston was not only something I was pleased to hear but I would have to say without any idle flattery didn't surprise me. The League's reputation or history has obviously always been one of commitment to conscience and courage, not to be deterred by events or people. So I didn't doubt for a moment you'd come, my only query was what took you so long.

Now I will leave the words of commendation, encouragement, dialogue, and debate to others, because my role primarily is to welcome. But obviously while you are here the convention is not so unnatural that you are not also here to enjoy yourselves. So my invitation and it is in every sense public and personal on the part of everyone in this city, is that you enjoy the convention, that you see this city.

Despite Boston's differences, I'm not defensive nor is she. It is our hope you will take the time to explore us. The only trouble you can get into is probably identifying with the Mayor or mentioning my name. Other than that, you should be relatively safe.

But I want you to visit the city. We take great pride to say history is on every corner. But you will find in its commemoration on more than one occasion as you walk the city in such events such as Crispus Attucks at the Boston Massacre and many others, a recounting of black history as well.

But to see the old North Church to walk on Beacon Hill, to view the waterfront as Carla Hills and I did just a short hour before coming here, you can see what a city can do. So we hope that you will view it. Between the moments of enjoyment there is the seriousness of deliberations. I say to you whites no less than blacks, benefit from your dialogue and your leadership.

In this regard I would like to make one comment, not with arrogance but certainly with confidence. I would like to comment on Vernon Jordan's remarks about participation in the electoral process. Surely an act of the courts across the country

Presiding:

Donald H. McGannon, President, National Urban League; President and Chairman of the Board, Westinghouse Broadcasting Company

Invocation:

The Reverend Floyd H. Flake, Chaplain, Marsh Chapel, Boston University

Welcome:

The Honorable Kevin H. White, Mayor, City of Boston

Guest Speaker:

The Honorable Carla A. Hills, Secretary, Department of Housing and Urban Development

Benediction:

The Reverend Peter Y. Q. Shih, Pastor, Chinese Christian Church of New England

at all levels as they did in Boston might respond and rectify the inequities that exist within our system. But those accomplishments will not be sustained unless there is a greater awareness and grasp of political participation.

Now I suppose that is almost too basic to recite or almost embarassing to bring up to such a sophisticated audience. But I say to you sincerely that in '67, in 1971 and in 1975 it was in fact the black community that made the difference in my election. I honestly believe the battles ahead are certainly more complex than those fought before and will be resolved with less dramatics and a great deal more work. They will be won in cities such as Cleveland, Detroit, Newark and not the least of which I include Boston. I want to participate in those battles that will be won and be a part of that victory when it comes. Thank You.

Mr. McGannon: Thank you very much Mayor, we appreciate those words. It is the custom at the Federal Resources Luncheon to welcome to our National Conference an outstanding member of the Federal administration. Carla Hills is outstanding in many ways. Let me tell you a little bit about her. Carla secured a law degree at Yale University and has published texts in the field of anti-trust and federal civil procedures.

She has practiced law in Los Angeles, and taught law at the University of Southern California. She is a former President of the Women's Lawyer's Association, and has been Assistant U.S. Attorney for the Los Angeles District. She has been chief of the Civil Division of the Department of Justice and has served as Assistant Attorney General.

She is the first woman in 40 years to serve as Assistant Attorney General.

She is the first woman in years to serve as Assistant Attorney General. She is only the third woman in the history of this country to hold a cabinet rank.

On March 10 of last year, she was sworn in as Secretary to the Department of Housing and Urban Development thereby assuming one of the toughest jobs in government today.

In the complex field of housing there are many interests and many adversaries of HUD. Ms. Hills has gained respect on all sides in remarkably short time. Who has brought to the urban battle fields, courage and integrity. We expect Secretary Hills to defend the policies of HUD vigorously but we have also learned that if we can present our positions vigorously and positively to her we can perhaps expect change.

When the District Court in Hartford recently rules the dispersal of community development block grant funds to suburban Hartford communities was inequitable under the existing HUD policies, Secretary Hills had the HUD regulations changed immediately to make the ruling applicable throughout the country. We respect the courage that it took to make this decision. We realized that such courage came from integrity, and Carla Hill's integrity is a valuable Federal resource. Welcome to you Madame Secretary, Secretary of the Development of Housing and Urban Development.

Secretary Hills: Mr. Mayor, my good friend Vernon Jordan to whom I'm indebted for this very fine invitation. I have to tell you it is a special privilege for me to be here today to participate in your Bicentennial Conference whose theme is, **Toward a New Bill of Rights.**

The idea of an ever new Bill of Rights with plain talk about the obligations and opportunities of all of us to make it work for all Americans, and particularly for Americans in our urban centers, is a noble bicentennial theme.

Now it would be naive for me to stand here before you on August 2, 1976 and pretend that this audience along with the rest of the nation isn't at least somewhat distracted by the balloting that will take place just three months from today, and I readily confess to you that I have strong bias. But I'm here to talk pragmatics not politics because there is so much work to be done.

As the Mayor and I walked the waterfront this morning we could see how much could be done wih the effort of all the people working together. And the urgent needs of our cities do not allow any of us the luxury of a recess pending the November decision. In truth the intrusion of politics in this crucial recovery year poses a greater burden on all of us and calls on each of us to work harder to hold on to the gains that we've made. So let us start by taking stock.

Where were we a year ago, what have we done about it, what have we learned

and where can we go? None of us will forget August of 1975 when a major question mark was whether our national economy would sustain the forward momentum that was then on the edge of a positive turn around from that bleak and depressing 12 months of a terrifying recession combined with unceasing inflation. For surely if America were to do anything to stem the deterioration in our urban centers, it first needed a robust economy to support that effort.

Carla A. Hills

Urban tax revenues were way down, voters were turning down bond issues at a chilling rate. New York and other cities were on the brink of a financial failure and one of HUD's most visible contributions seemed to be 51,000 abandoned homes. HUD's new Rental Subsidy Program was barely off the ground, with the experts predicting that we couldn't possibly meet our goal of reserving funds for 400,000 families before the next fiscal year.

So here we are, one year later. The nation and its economy which we watched so fretfully 12 months ago is growing stronger month by month. Tax revenues of state and local governments are about 12% up from the rate of last year.

HUD's inventory of unsold homes I'm happy to say is down by one-third. We've already reserved funds for over 300,000 families and we will clearly meet our goal of 400,000 before August 1, when our fiscal year commences anew.

Now I'm not going to stand here and try to tell this audience that the hard fought upturn in our national economy has made everything come up roses for our inner cities, for you and I both know that the poor are the first in and the last out whether the downward dip is local or national. And we know that there can only be opportunity or promise for our poor in a growing economy and there can be none where the economy is stagnant or depressed. More than that we know that there is greater compassion for our poor, a nation that is not strapped by inflation that robs our taxpayers of their confidence and their capacity for concern.

Well what have we learned? In my view, we have learned something about the soundness of our past economic course. I think the President has set a tone for a new national awareness that America's wisdom does not reside entirely in the corridors of Congress nor with the Federal reform makers.

Communities across our diverse land very often can devise better solutions for their individual problems than can Congress, which devises general solutions which too often can miss the mark. Indeed the President's continuing crusade to return government to the governed, and to transfer power away from the Potomac and back to the people, has so captured the imagination of the nation in this Bicentennial Year that 1976 has become the year in which every candidate for office is running against Washington.

There is no question that the Federal Government over the past several decades has frustrated both those who have gone to Washington to help manage it as well as those, particularly mayors who seek to deal with it. Perhaps the most vivid word picture of this frustration was offered by Utah Senator Jake Gorn who said that when he was Mayor of Salt Lake City he felt less like a Chief Executive Officer of a major urban center then like a manager for the Federal Government.

The ripple effect of government growth has had even a greater impact upon the American people who increasingly find their individual destinies are tied to decisions made for them by the United States Congress.

The great American establishment that is in Washington with the vast array of Congressional Committees and Sub-committees, Executive Departments, Agencies and Commissions, titled and untitled bureaucrats, pressure groups and official lobbies, sometimes loses track of the fact that programs for the people can only be judged on how well they serve the people. It is what we do about their needs that makes the difference to the welfare family, the unemployed and the minority business firms trying to serve this community under discouraging odds.

We don't answer the needs of these good people simply by legislating new programs with fancy titles. Nor do we deliver on the promise of America just by throwing money at those problems. Keep in mind the Federal Government is what the American people have made it. It has grown to fit the expressed will of the electorate.

Many of its functions and many of its agencies have survived the voters and the legislatures which put them into being. Many have outlived their usefulness yet carry out and carry on under the protection of strong special interest groups or voting blocks, or simply because not enough people care.

It took a long time and a lot of legislation to create our present tangle and it is

not going to change over night, notwithstanding the campaign rhetoric. It is going to take a lot of hard work and a lot more people to care both inside and outside government. And where do we go? Since the start of this administration President Ford has had under study and under discussion at local forums, conducted personally by himself and by the Vice President, methods to improve the delivery of federal programs to our urban centers.

I've taken part in a number of those forums. The President's concern is well warranted and in spite of the billions of Treasury dollars spent on urban problems, many of our cities had been on a downward path for the past couple of decades. On June 30, the President appointed a cabinet level committee under the title of the President's Committee for Urban Development and Neighborhood revitalization, which I chair, to undertake a comprehensive review of all federal programs that affect our urban centers, to consult with local officials and neighborhood groups regarding how these federal programs impact upon their particular community, and to propose to the President statutory and administrative improvement.

Our initial review of the amassed data quickly confirmed what we already suspected. Over the past half century succeeding Congresses have enacted so many disparate categorical programs that it defies the ingenuity of anybody inside or outside Washington to formulate a coordinated strategy for a Boston, Cleveland or a Detroit.

Today there are so many suppliers with so many different schedules, regulations and rules that it is a practical impossibility to design an efficient urban plan that will get the most out of the federal dollars that are available. It is rather like asking Johns Manville and Anaconda Copper and Frigeradaire each to design and each to send to the home buyer its part of the house. Those who talk about managing the bureaucracy or bringing Washington under control had best start with that basic fact of life in mind.

I have reviewed some 103 federally funded programs which impact upon our urban areas and which carry a price tag in excess of $50 billion. Sixty-three of these are grant programs, but only four are block grant programs and 59 are categorical. The remaining 40 are miscellaneous loan programs. Significantly local governments are eligible as direct applicant sin only about a quarter of these programs. All other of the funds are distrubuted to state or to special purpose local agencies.

Virtually all of the 59 categotical programs have conflicting and sometimes overlapping application review requirements, with few limits on the review time and no assurance of approval at the end of the road. If we hope to unlock this complex and frustrating puzzle, we have no choice but to reexamine the old assumptions which we continue to make whether by habit, or by long held conviction or simply because they are conformable.

Rhetoric notwithstanding, we will not achieve the aims of the new Bill of Rights to which this conference is dedicated with programs that continue to show their inability to help the very peroples for whom they were presumably designed. It is my strong belief, based upon about a year of what I regard as positive results, that our cities can and will move forward if the Federal establishment shifts emphasis from categorical thinking to block grant programs.

I do not say we should scrub all of our categorical programs; some of them are vital because of an overriding federal concern. Take the building of regional airports to facilitate national transportation or for the delivery of our mail.

But I do believe the block grant approach which releases funds from Washington and puts them in the hands and the authority of local government, has the best chance of working to the ultimate advantage of all the people in that locality.

If they do not work to the satisfaction of those citizens most directly affected, it can only mean that our citizens are neglecting one of our great rights, the right to remedy the situation in the ballot box. Federal block grants constitute a positive demonstration of the nation's trust in her people, a fundamental precept of our democracy. If we lament the passage of power back to locally elected officials because we question their goodwill, or their capacity to work for all of the people in their locality, it indicates that we do not have faith in the local electorate to choose a good and proper administration.

The alternative is to continue the myth in the minds of our minorities and our poor that the only ones who care about them and will do anything for them are the chosen few who wield power from the banks of the Potomac.

But today when 152 of our cities and towns including some of our larger communities boast of black Mayors, and blacks constitute a powerful voting voice in

most of our major cities north and south, I submit that the American people you represent will come more quickly into the main stream of American life through the sensitive structure of local government than they ever would through the heavy slow working categorical machinery of Washington.

They have far more opportunity and power to effect the local decisions than they have in Washington where decisions are made on the basis of national averages rather than on the realistic needs of individual communities.

Now I know that you've had reservations about some aspects of HUD's Community Development Block Grant Program. Some of them are justified and some based upon expectations of how much and how fast our new act of August 22, 1974 could achieve all of its objectives. It was inevitable that this dramatically innovative program of community development, Block Grants, would have start up problems. But I can honestly say based upon both actual program experience and an intensive review, that the program is working and it is working very well.

Regulations had been reduced from 2,666 pages covering the old categorical programs to 30 pages. Despite your initial concern, funding under the new program has impressively increased not reduced. In fact, the funding level for fiscal, 1975, which was our first funding year, was twice that of 1967 for the categorical programs that it replaced. Frankly, I'm very proud this administration has asked for $3.2 billion for the coming fiscal year, the full limits of the funding allowed under the '74 act.

Also we have funded more than twice as many units of government while our whole harmless clause has protected our older cities from reduction in vital funding. Right now we are concentrating on creating new ways to develop a formula for funding that will respond to the special needs of our aging communities.

If we are going to abandon anything in the years ahead, we'd better abandon that old notion admittedly financed and furthered by the past several decades of government backed mortgage loans, that the way to deal with an older city's problems, is to throw away some neighborhoods and to build a new one further out. Many of the complaints leveled at HUD's Block Grants are by law beyond HUD's sphere of influence.

We are prohibited from making judgments on the quality of the local program choices; that's for the local citizens and the local officials. We are prohibited from pre-judging the goodwill or the capacity of the local government to comply with legal certifications. But we do have the power of review and the power to refuse the next year's funding.

Predictably we did find some weaknesses in the course of our first year funding, particular with respect to expanding housing opportunities of our lower income groups. We moved to correct thsoe defects before we reviewed our second year's application. We required communities to meet the housing needs of lower income commuters working within the jurisdiction. Also we encourage housing certificates on a metropolitan wide basis whenever possible, thereby expanding loation choices for eligible families.

We required localities to set three year goals proportional to the needs of our lower income households, small and large families, the elderly and the handicapped. We instructed our HUD reviewers to consider a lack of commitment in meeting the housing goals as grounds for rejection. The complaint about inadequate coordination between community development and housing, does not emanate from lack of a commitment to the objective, but lack of a clear understanding by all concerned of how to do it.

We recognize this problem and we are trying to do something about it. Not only do we require a housing assistance plan with every application, we are now providing guidance to local applicants in making housing an integral part of their community development plan. One of the things that got in HUD's way and persists even today in many cases is the old habit of categorical thinking on the part of many.

In this noteworthy and sometimes scary book, **Future Shock**, Alvin Toffler gives a thoughtful look at the negative side of an individual's regard for change. I will concede in initiating the new Block Grant approach, HUD did not even begin to appreciate how deep set a mind can get. This was and still is a whole new way of doing federal-local business.

Keep in mind that the authorizing acts will celebrate its second birthday on the 22nd of this month. Just getting the first year funding out in less than a year, literally in a half a year, was an accomplishment in and of itself. The format was untried, the small print unwriteen. The lead time required to put into operation the application

process, the application review, approval and funding, had to be squeezed down to just a few months. Some mistakes were made by HUD and by the community, and I think that they were inevitable, but we do have the will and I believe the demonstrated capacity to correct them. We are just in the midst of our second round of applications, and we continue to be alert to the lingering weaknesses in this program.

The ultimate success of the Block Grant concept depends on an ever increasing involvement of the citizens and citizen groups in the nuts and bolts of developing their own communities and in monitoring the progress. This is a job for all concerned citizens and I count our National Urban League high on the list of concerned citizens in our cities.

It is a self-defeating trap to suppose Washington can really control all of the abuses which can slip through the crack in every jurisdiction of this nation, $3^1/_2$ million square miles and 215 million people. The only sure watchdog on the hearts of America is the alert response of the people. That is the clout that makes a tiger out of the new Bill of Rights.

Your own belief in our system is evidenced by your increased participation in all the things that make our cities as a whole function, and in some measure we like to think you've been stimulated by our Community Development Block Grant Program. You've joined with us quite vocally to stress the urgency of local problems and abuses that have sometimes cropped up in our City Hall.

Your actions over this past year, joined by the actions of many other truly involved citizen organizations, complaints, studies, recommendations, and I can say even an occasional pat on the back has so stimulated the people at HUD That in spite of all the headaches, we did make the Block Grant Program work.

In fact it is this experience with our community Development Block Grant Program that has helped me to develop four principles to use as our President's Committee continues to re-examine other Federal grant programs.

First and I think you can tell it, I firmly believe that we should prefer Block Grants to categoricals for all the reasons I have given here today and particularly in giving the local people more control over the resources that affect their destinies.

Second, I suggest that funding also for the reasons I have mentioned here today, be provided through locally elected Chief Executive Officers of states of localities, both to assure the coordination and the use of available funds, adn to assure accountability to the people.

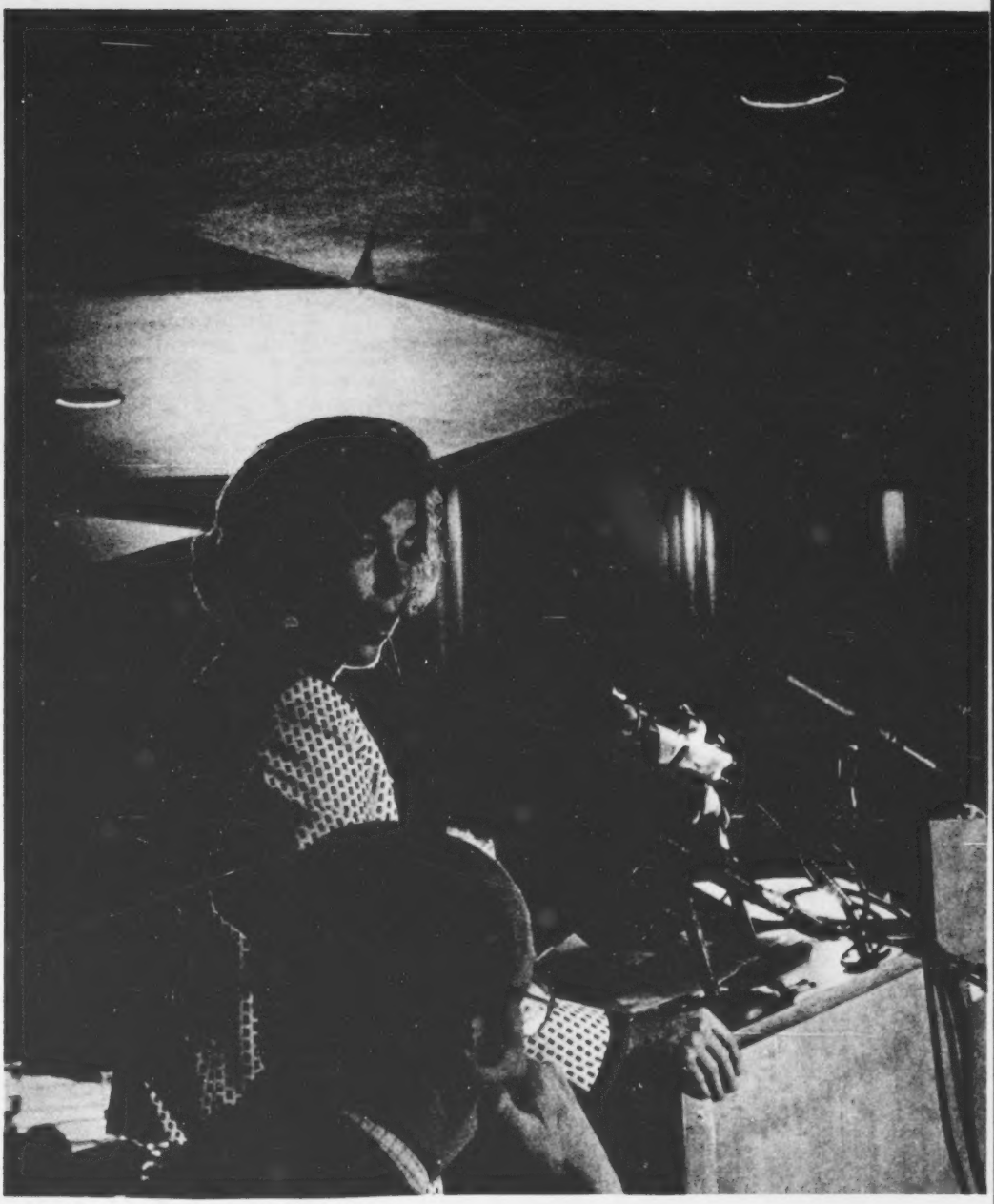
Third, I suggest that citizen participation be a rule rather than an exception in federal grant programs. Such a rule will apply not only in explicit programs for the poor, but all programs that affect them.

Finally I suggest that we seek to establish multi-year funding so that our communities can intelligently plan into the future, and at the same time take advantage of timely opportunities to get the most effective return on their available funds.

Now I don't claim that these four principles are the end for every Federal program, but may anticipation is that our urban constituencies would fare a lot better if these became guiding principles on future Federal program planning.

They dared us to drop our complacent bent, and to add more categorical programs that keep winding up as obstacles to the solutions of the problems they were intended to correct. They helped put our programs out in that glaring spotlight of the local arena, where the people themselves can get to them, and design improvements to meet their own changing circumstances.

But most of all they put the responsibility right where it belongs, under the pressure and the clout of the people who have the power to fight with and work with City Hall. I submit that this is the vehicle that will move our minorities and our poor toward your own great objective, a new Bill of Rights.



Monday, August 2, 1976 — 2:00 p.m.

The Right to Health

Presiding:

Jeanne Spurlock, NUL Trustee; Deputy Medical Director, American Psychiatric Association

Guest Speaker:

James G. Haughton, Executive Director, Health & Hospitals Governing Commission of Cook County

Dr. Spurlock: This afternoon—to address this concern, "Our Right to Health" is Dr. James Haughton about whom one could say many good things. A Panamanian by birth, he received his medical education on the West Coast and then came to the East Coast where he had his post-graduate medical training. A master of public health at Columbia University, he has been certified by the American Board of Preventive Medicine.

A recipient of numerous awards of significance to me and perhaps many others in this audience because it happens to be that period of time which has been identified as the **Decade of the Woman,** two of his awards include the **Image Award** presented by the League of Black Women in 1974, and the Mary McCleod Bethune award of merit presented by the National Council of Negro Women in 1972. Our speaker's professional writings have been published in a number of prestigious scientific journals.

As Executive Director of Health and Hospitals Governing Commission of Cook County, Illinois, our speaker is responsible for the administration and management of Cook County Hospital, a 1600-bed hospital; Oak Forest Hospital, a 1900-bed chronic disease facility, and also an extended care facility the Surmac Memorial Hospital which provides services for inmates of Cook County Jail and the House of Corrections. In addition, he also has responsibility for the Cook County Hospital School of Nursing.

Additionally Dr. Haughton is responsible for the planning and implementation of Health Service Programs for one-and-one-quarter million indigent citizens of Cook County, Illinois.

What better person could we have selected to talk about our right to health, Dr. James Haughton!

Dr. Haughton: It was almost 60 years ago that a committee of the American Medical Association proposed a national health insurance plan. It was 28 years ago that the Truman administration sponsored and supported the Murray-Wagner-Dingell Bill which would have created a national health insurance program with universal entitlement unrelated to financial need. And, it has been just over ten years since the late President of the United Auto Workers, Walter Reuther, called together the Committee of One Hundred for National Health Insurance, and just ten years since the implementation of Medicare (health insurance for people over 65 years of age) and Medicaid (health service entitlement for the poor and the medically needy).

All this might lead one to believe that the nation was gradually moving towards some mechanism for removing the financial barrier to access to health care, but just a few months ago, the President of the United States informed us that a nation which will spend $120 billion for military defense in fiscal year 1977 cannot afford to guarantee its citizens access to health services.

Over the past few years, a number of health insurance proposals have been introduced in the Congress, each sponsored either by the national administration or some special interest group. In 1975, the House Ways and Means Committee of the

Dr. Jean Spurlock

Congress attempted to draft a compromise bill which would satisfy all of the various interests represented by the bills which were then on the congressional calendar.

After several months, the Committee gave up in frustration — it found it impossible to serve the public interest while attempting to satisfy the various special interests clamoring for attention.

I served on the original "Committee of One Hundred" and on its technical subcommittee which drafted the specifications for what became the "Health Security" bill sponsored by Senator Edward Kennedy and others.

The bill expresses the sincere aspirations of its drafters and certainly reflects their view of what would serve this country's citizens best. But, ten years of additional experience as a health services manager and an observer of the human condition have lead me to wonder whether the bill, if adopted today, would accomplish the purposes desired by its drafters.

Further, I wonder about our apparent commitment to the principle of insurance. A number of Western European nations with almost one hundred years of experience in financing health services through national health insurance are currently reassessing their programs and considering alternatives.

It might be wise for us to look rigorously at their experience before adopting that approach.

It seems that we are mesmerized by the phrase (national health insurance), and may have lost sight of the objectives which initiated what might now be characterized as the "movement".

What are those objectives? Perhaps, if we can define them precisely, we can get on with the business of designing legislation which will satisfy them.

It is a truism borne out by reliable data that morbidity and mortality are higher among the poor than among the middle-income and the rich. Yet, most of our professional health manpower resource is available to the latter groups. Proper resource allocation would suggest a reversal of that pattern. Our first objective, therefore, should be more effective resource allocation.

Within the past three years, attempts have been made to address this objective. Legislation has been proposed which would provide financial support to medical students who would commit themselves to a period of service to underserved populations after completion of their education and training. This legislation has been opposed by various groups on the grounds that such mandatory service would constitute indentured servitude unless a provision was included in the legislation which would give such students the option of buying their way out of the commitment.

In my view, such a provision would be immoral. As a taxpayer, I am prepared to make a contribution to guaranteeing health care for the underserved by underwriting the cost of a doctor's education. If that doctor is given the option of returning my money after he has obtained his education at my expense, he has frustrated my intention. The money he returns will not buy health care for the people who were the intended beneficiary of my contribution.

I will not support such legislation, and we as a nation are not serious about our intention to achieve a redistribution of health service resources if we support legislation of that kind.

There is another facet of the resource problem which must be addressed. The past 30 years have witnessed a complete shift of services from primary health care to highly specialized technology. Until only a few years ago, the family doctor had become an endangered species.

There are now some 270 Family Practice residency training programs, preparing almost 4000 doctors for this revived approach to health care. In addition, new emphasis is being placed on training physicians in the primary care specialties — internal medicine, pediatrics, and obstetrics and gynecology.

Some members of the United States Congress, in recognition of the need, have proposed legislation which would allocate a specific portion of medical training positions to the primary care specialties. These proposals have not been welcomed by the medical education establishment. It is apparently assumed in those quarters that the laissez faire approach which has operated throughout the history of medical education in this country will somehow magically reverse itself and begin to produce primary care physicians without public intervention. I don't believe it!

This first objective suggests a second almost as important. Throughout our country, in the past 20 to 30 years, there has been a geometric increase in the number of visits to the emergency rooms of hospitals both rural, suburban and inner-city.

Dr. James G. Haughton

This phenomenon, occasioned by the decline in the number of practicing primary physicians, has placed an inordinate burden upon community and teaching hospitals. In response to this burden, a new medical specialist has emerged — the emergency physician. But, this response has not solved nor ameliorated the problem because our health financing system is much more responsive to hospital in-patient care than it is to ambulatory care. As a result, hospitals which attempt to respond to community demand find themselves flirting with financial disaster.

Our second objective must, therefore, be to provide financial incentives for the delivery of the most appropriate level of care consistent with the needs of the patient.

Please note that I have used the word "needs". Our whole health industry has been distorted by "demand" — a demand largely stimulated by the industry itself. All of our recent and current health planning efforts are based on historical demand and projection of future demand. We, therefore, work with beds per 1000 population, clinic visits per patient per year, hospital days per 1000 population per year — all historical.

Obviously, if we accept these "demands" as givens, and extrapolate for population growth, we will continue to make dire predictions concerning the potential cost of removing the financial barriers which limit access to **neccessary** health services.

We have no mechanism for predicting "need" because we have not properly defined "health care". Medical technology is constantly pursuing the complicated, the obscure, the unique, to the detriment of the simple, the obvious, and the ordinary. Medical education is equally caught up in that mystique.

It is worth noting that at Cook County Hospital, we have had to make special efforts to teach interns and residents how to deal with minor ailments. They seem to come out of medical school convinced that every patients they see will have some obscure ailment that must not be overlooked. Every patient with a sore throat must, therefore, be screened for leukemia, every skin condition must have lupus erythematosus ruled out as a possibility, and every severed finger must be replaced.

In addition, we have deified technology to such an extent that we are content to expend scandalous amounts of our resources in carrying out technological acrobatics aimed at sustaining questionable levels of human existence.

If we continue to define all this as "medical need" and to base our health planning on data extracted from these patterns of utilization, the cost will always scare us away from any legislation which proposes to lift the economic barriers to universal access.

A third objective must, therefore, be to define health services in a way which assures the availability of truly necessary services and provides disincentives to technological hysterics.

And, what do I mean by technological hysterics? I mean the uncontrollable urge which some doctors have to demonstrate their technological prowess in carrying out what they consider "life-sustaining measures."

Remember the Quinlan case? For months, that unfortunate young woman was subjected to the technological gymnastics of her doctors on the assumption that only in that way could her vital functions be sustained. She has now been off the machines for months and, as far as I know, she is still breathing — without the machines. I wonder what it cost the community while they were preening their technological feathers for all the world to see?

There are those who speak of catastrophic health insurance as a step in the right direction. As a physician and as the director of one of the largest health care complexes in this country, I can tell you that many of our catastrophies are man-made and such insurance coverage would only encourage more of them.

An equally distressing problem in our health enterprise is the "Disease of the Year" syndrome which afflicts our Congress. Year after year, large appropriations are enacted for specific categorical disease entities. We have had cancer, heart disease, pulmonary disease, sickle cell screening, kidney disease all receive special financial attention at one time or another during the past decade or two.

During this same period, we have paid lip service to comprehensive health planning apparently without recognizing the pejorative effects of these categorical financial forays on the planning process.

A good example of this process is the proliferation of profit-making kidney dialysis facilities since the inclusion of kidney dialsysis as a medicare benefit. Another is the recent scandalous squandering of money and manpower on sickle cell

anemia screening while the Black population dies of hypertension and its complications.

It should be obvious that rational planning cannot take place when there is no reasonable mechanism for establishing priorities at either the national or local levels. Under such circumstances, resource allocation is dictated by happenstance rather than by carefully defined need.

A fourth objective must, therefore, be to establish a means of defining priorities both nationally and locally in such a way that both the Congress and the Administration will be bound by those priorities and denied the right to pursue their categorical preferences.

Throughout the history of Medicare and Medicaid, these programs have been beset by scandal. Providers in all categories have been accused and some convicted of preying on these programs to the tune of millions of dollars every year in several parts of this country.

In some cases, the abuses related to substandard services delivered; in others, the charge was over-utilization; and, in many, just plain fraud. All this was avoidable if proper safeguards had been applied.

In New York City, in the early years of Medicaid, many millions of dollars of unnecessary expenditure for dental and psychiatric care were prevented by a simple procedure for prior approval of services. The procedure did not deny service to any person with a real need, but protected the public against fraudulent behavior.

Recent attempts at assuring surveillance of the quality of medical services rendered has been greeted with such emotionally charged catch phrases as "cookbook medicine", even though the activity has been confined to services rendered in institutions. Even if this belated attempt at quality assurance is successful, it will be inadequate because much of the proven abuse has taken place outside the institutions, both in terms of quality and utilization.

It is possible to control abuse and to uphold standards and a fifth objective must, therefore, be to provide mechanisms within any national program which will accomplish these ends.

Much of the dysfunction in our industry is related to our inappropriate use of personnel and since ours is a labor intensive industry, the adverse effect on costs requires no genius to perceive.

It has been obvious for many years that as medical practice becomes more complex, the physician is over-trained for performing many of the activities which are still defined within the Medical Practice Acts of most states.

A number of attempts have been made to train other levels of personnel for the performance of these functions. Some notable examples of these efforts are the pediatric associates trained at the University of Colorado, the physician's assistants at Duke University, and the MEDEX program at the University of Washington. Many other efforts patterned after these have been pursued successfully elsewhere and the personnel trained in these programs have performed admirably. But, in almost every state where attempts have been made to legitimize these new members of the health team through legislation, the legislation has been fought and delayed by some professional association trying to impede the entry of others into the industry.

Only this year, the legislature of the State of Illinois enacted a physician's assistant statute so restrictive that, if allowed to stand, it will impede the entry of this type of personnel into the mainstream of health care for some time.

The entry of new types of personnel into the caring function has also been slowed by the reimbursement policies of the insurance industry.

Our sixth objective, therefore, should be to ease the restrictions which limit the appropriate use of new health manpower and to adjust our financial mechanisms to take their services into account and thereby increase our productivity while containing our costs.

Finally, we must stop scaring ourselves with the financial estimates of what it will cost the nation to lift the financial barriers to appropriate access to health care.

I have seen no estimates which exceed what was actually spent in 1975 — well over a hundred billion dollars. All the legislative proposals before the Congress suggest different sources of funding, but none suggest additional expenditure.

In my view, the passage of any national health insurance bill at this time would be a disaster. For even though some of the extant bills propose structural and other changes in the health system, it is my prediction that the new funding mechanisms, although they are designed to change incentives and not to increase funding, would

pour money into the system so rapidly that the money itself would serve as a counterforce to prevent change.

Fortunately, it is not necessary to adopt a national health insurance law in order to achieve any of the objectives I have described. Indeed, these objectives should be attained before any national plan of financing is applied to the system.

The achievement of some of these objectives will require enabling legislation, but some can be accomplished administratively through existing manpower, planning and financing statutes. But, looking back upon the performance of the Congress and the United States Department of Health, Education, and Welfare during the past 3 years, the honest observer is forced to conclude that the political will does not exist to force the achievement of these or any other appropriate objectives. Another decade of the status quo with little if any change is, sadly, the most reasonable expectation one can project. And so, the United States enters her third century where she entered the second — without equity of access to health care for all her people.

This circumstance need not persist. Organizations like the National Urban League, with their networks of regional and local affiliates, can play an important educational role. They can alert their constituencies to the issues. They can educate the people they serve. They can launch initiatives to force legislators to focus on the objectives to be achieved in reaching the goal of universal access, rather than attempting to satisfy the special interests which constantly vie for their attention.

There are some of my old friends and colleagues here today who will disagree with the views I have presented and who will wonder whether my head was in the clouds when I prepared this paper. Indeed, it was. Most of this presentation was drafted on airplanes over the past 6 or 8 months as I flew back and forth around the country on various assignments.

During that period, several other probably objectives occurred to me, but as I considered them carefully, it seemed that they were merely refinements of the ones I have presented.

In summary, then, the objectives to be achieved are the following:

1. The effective allocation of resources — training the kind of personnel we need and providing them incentives to serve where the need is greatest.
2. Providing financial incentives for the delivery of the most appropriate level of care consistent with the needs of the patient instead of the current pattern of emphasis on in-patient hospital care.
3. Defining health services in a way which assures the availability of truly necessary services and provides disincentives to technological hysterics.
4. Establishing a means of defining priorities, both nationally and locally, in such a way that both the Congress and the Administration will be bound by those priorities and denied the opportunity to pursue their categorical preferences.
5. Applying mechanisms to control fraud and abuse and to assure acceptable standards of health care delivery.
6. Easing the restrictions which limit the appropriate use of new health manpower and adjusting our financial mechanisms to recognize their services, thereby increasing the productivity of the health care system while containing its costs.
7. Educating the American people to the possibility that addressing the health needs of our populace through rational mechanisms should not be any more expensive than the current irrational approaches.

In accepting this assignment to address you today, I assumed that the National Urban League is committed to having an important voice in the national dialogue which will eventually define the future health services system of our country, and I challenge you to accept an active role in achieving these objectives.

And, now, as you disperse into your workshops and recover from your initial shock, please consider carefully the thoughts I have shared with you today. I believe you will agree with me, upon reflection, that with our present maldistribution of services and misallocation of resources, national health insurance, enacted today, would be the emptiest of empty promises to millions of our people.

Dr. Spurlock: Thank you very much Dr. Haughton.

78

Monday, August 2, 1976 — 7:00 p.m.

Special Evening Session On Foreign Affairs

Presiding:

Donald H. McGannon, President, National Urban League; President and Chairman of the Board, Westinghouse Broadcasting Company

Guest Speaker:

The Honorable Henry A. Kissinger Secretary of State

Mr. McGannon: Our speaker tonight is a man whose historical perspective and diplomatic skills are acknowledged by all observers on the national and international scene whether they be his supporters or critics.

Like so many other fellow Americans, Henry Kissinger came to these shores as a young man fleeing racial persecution. Like so many others, he has made a great contribution to our nation's life.

As an historian and political scientist; as a leading theorist of national strategy; as an author, professor, Presidential advisory; and as Secretary of State, Dr. Kissinger has left his mark on our times.

The growing importance of Africa and the winds of change blowing across the greater part of the world, which is non-white, are of interest to all Americans.

We are indeed grateful Dr. Kissinger has come to this National Urban League Conference to share with us his views of our relationship to that part of the world whose bonds are strongly held by Americans devoted to racial justice.

It is my great pleasure to present the Secretary of State, Dr. Henry Kissinger!

Dr. Kissinger: More than a century ago Abraham Lincoln remarked that Americans were the "Almighty's almost chosen people." Whether he meant that the Almighty had given us careful consideration and decided to pass us up, or whether he was simply being modest on our behalf, I do not know. I prefer to believe, however, that he meant that America had been provided with everything — material and spiritual — needed to lead the world toward a better time, and that the rest was up to us.

In the 111 years that have passed since an assassin's bullet ended Lincoln's life Americans have done much to make this a better world. More than any other nation, America has stood in opposition to intolerance, poverty, and war. We have offered a haven to the homeless, and food to the hungry; we have striven to bring hope to the downtrodden and freedom to the oppressed. Being human, we have known prejudice, injustice and cruelty; our institutions have sometimes been rigid and unresponsive. But being a nation of principle, our values have goaded our conscience; we have regularly produced sweeping movements for change which have given new impetus to our institutions, and fresh dedication to our people. Americans have never been satisfied with what we were, so long as it was less than what we knew it should be.

The Urban League epitomizes those qualities. This organization has worked tirelessly against prejudice and for equality with wisdom and uncompromising principle. The League has been a part of the conscience of our time. I have known this personally since the 1950's because of my friendship with Lester Granger, one of the founders of the Urban League. He was a fine man and a distinguished American who felt deeply that genuine progress for black and white alike could only come through cooperation. Because of that friendship and because of the distinguished work of this organization it is a special honor for me to be here today.

My purpose is to speak to you about the foreign policy of the United States, and

79

The Honorable
Henry A. Kissinger

in particular about Africa.

No part of the world more challenges American purposes and values than that vast and vital continent.

There is, first, a profound human and moral dimension to America's ties with Africa. Three months ago I stood in the dank cells of a slave prison on the Isle of Goree in Senegal, from which hundreds of thousands of Africans were forcibly transported to the New World. I was deeply moved by that grim and awesome scene. The institution of slavery still remains — and always shall remain — the worst blot on the history of our nation. It has affected the lives of every American who has ever lived. Its bitter residue continues to this day. Our challenge now is to show the world that the two races who began their association so tragically can surmount the legacy of the past and learn to live together in freedom and harmony, based on a recognition of their common humanity.

History has linked America to Africa in a special bond. The heritage and the struggle of 23 million black Americans has inspired throughout this country a profound awareness of — and support for — the aspirations of the African peoples who seek their freedom and their future against great odds. In this generation the assertion of black nationhood in Africa has coincided with the new affirmation of equality, dignity, and justice in the United States. Americans know that the values their country stands for — peace, equality, economic opportunity, and national independence — are today being tested in Africa as nowhere else in the world.

The moral imperative behind our African policy is reinforced by practical considerations. With the sweep of political independence and economic interdependence, Africa, in less than a decade, has assumed great importance in world affairs. It is a continent of immense size, strategically located, with nearly 50 nations of increasing weight in the world scene. Its vast natural resources are essential elements of the global economy. In the last twenty years direct American investment in black Africa has tripled. Trade has grown at an even faster rate. Africa's importance to us as a producer of energy and commodities and as a market for our own products is substantial and bound to grow in the future. It is also important for the other industrialized democracies; Western Europe's and Japan's combined trade with Africa now exceeds $30 billion a year.

An independent and thriving Africa is essential not only to America's national interest and moral purpose but to global stability and progress as well.

America's Global Responsibility and Africa

I do not want to pretend that the realization of the significance of Africa has come easily to American policy. It grew out of painful experience. But whatever past omissoins, the lesson has been learned. And we will now pursue our new African policy with conviction and dedication.

To be effective our foreign policy must be global; to be realistic, it must be complex; to be lasting it must be rooted in the hearts as well as the minds of the peoples it is designed to serve.

That global policy is the product of necessity, and of the American people's moral and practical interest in the peace of the world and the progress of our fellow man. Africa has an important place in that design. The fundamental principles of our policy and the basic issues of our time are being tested there. We cannot achieve our worldwide foreign policy goals if we do not strive mightily for them in Africa.

The United States is the world's strongest nation — militarily, economically, and in our commitment to democracy. When we fail — for whatever reason — to use our strength for peace and progress, there is a gap that no one else can fill. Without our vigilance there can be no global security; without our support for friends, there can be no regional balances. Without our cooperation, there is no realistic hope for advancement of the new nations. Without our espousal of freedom, justice and human dignity, their cause will fade.

And the reverse is equally true: Never before has our wellbeing been so affected by events abroad. America's peace and safety rest crucially on a global balance of power; our prosperity depends on a flourishing international economy; our future is bound up with the fate of freedom around the world.

But the world of the 1970's is more diverse, fluid, and complex than was the quarter century following the Second World War. Our strength has become less pre-

dominant, our margin for error has narrowed, our choices are more difficult and ambiguous. New centers of power have emerged — including stronger allies, and more assertive energy and raw material-producing nations. There is now a substantial nuclear balance between the nuclear superpowers. The once-monolithic Communist bloc has been fractured by bitter rivalries. The economic system links all nations' fortunes, but the developing nations rightly claim a greater role in it. The colonial and Cold War structures of international relations have come to an end, but a new accepted international system has yet to take their place. To shape a new pattern of global relations assuring peace, freedom and progress is the foremost task of our time.

In pursuit of this objective we have consolidated our partnerships with our principal allies, the great industrial democracies of Western Europe, North America and Japan. We have resisted attempts to tip the global balance or to threaten the independence of smaller nations. We have sought to reach beyond the security to a relationship more hopeful than a balance of terror constantly contested. And we have striven to engage the developing countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America in full and constructive participation in the international order.

Today, all these global challenges have a crucial African dimension. The nations of Africa face a uniquely difficult task. A continent of vast wealth and potential is fragmented by the arbitrary boundaries of the colonial era. Tribal differences divert energies and resources; racial hatred smothers the spirit and the talents of both its victims and its advocates. National identity — a concept often taken for granted in other parts of the world — must, in many African countries, be consciously created in an almost impossibly short span of years. An enterprise of nation-building is being pursued at a rate and in ways which have no parallel in human experience.

And in the last two years, the pace of change in Africa has accelerated in every dimension:

- The sudden collapse of the Portuguese colonial empire created fundamental changes in southern Africa. Efforts to negotiate the racial conflict in Rhodesia and Namibia stalled. The forces for moderation in black Africa risked being discredited. Radical movements and guerrilla violence were on the rise.
- Worldwide recession and the sharp rise in oil prices had a drastic impact on the world's poor nations, many of them African. Developing countries began to form blocs to challenge the industrial countries, threatening new cartels and economic warfare.
- Factional divisions within liberation movements drew outside powers into confrontation in Angola. After Angola, there was a general fear that foreign intervention would spread to other conflicts in southern Africa. Responsible Africans feared that the peace, integrity, unity and independence of the continent were gravely threatened.

The United States could not remain indifferent to these trends. We decided to exert our influence in the search for negotiated solutions in southern Africa before time ran out; to seek new ways to foster Africa's economic development and progress; and to buttress the principle of African solutions for African problems in the face of the growing danger of foreign intervention.

President Ford made the courageous decision, for these reasons, to send me on a mission to Africa. It was essential to provide responsible African leaders with a moderate alternative to the grim prospects of violence so rapidly taking shape before them; it was time to strengthen U.S.-African relations in ways with which Africans could identify and cooperate. The new impetus we gave to our policy in Africa was designed to demonstrate that there is a positive and peaceful road open to fulfill African aspirations and that America can be counted on for understanding, advice and assistance.

Against this background, let me discuss in greater detail our response to the three principal challenges:

- Africa's quest for self-determination and human dignity in southern Africa and throughout the continent.
- Africa's striving for economic progress; and
- Africa's determination to preserve its unity and freedom from outside interference and great-power rivalry.

Southern Africa

Late last year the situation in southern Africa took on a new and more critical dimension with implications not only for the peace, independence and unity of Africa, but for global peace and stability. For the first time since the end of the colonial era in the early 1960's, external interventions had begun to overwhelm an essentially African problem. The political evolution of Angola was slipping out of African control toward determination by outsiders. The United States was prevented by Congressional action from assisting its friends in their efforts to counter foreign intervention and negotiate a compromise African solution.

After Angola, there was a concern that the precedent of external intervention would spread to Rhodesia where a guerrilla war was already taking place. The white minority regime there — representing only four percent of the population — is not recognized by a single government in the world. The negotiations which it had conducted with black leaders had broken down and guerrilla actions had intensified. Even moderate African leaders began to urge a military solution.

To reverse these trends, the United States set forth a comprehensive program in Lusaka, Zambia in April. We put our weight behind a British proposal for majority rule in Rhodesia within two years. We stated our readiness to help a new majority-ruled Rhodesia in its peaceful transition to an independent Zimbabwe and after. We stressed the importance of racial peace and equality, including minority rights.

The United States is working hard to carry forward this program. We are consulting closely with the leaders of black Africa, Western Europe and South Africa to promote equitable solutions. We are not seeking to impose an American blueprint; instead we are doing our best to encourage the African parties involved to negotiate a settlement in which black and white can coexist and cooperate for Africa's future on the basis of equality, dignity and peace. The United States, together with others, stands ready to help the parties overcome the economic dislocations which inevitably will accompany the process of change in southern Africa.

In recent weeks we have heard charges that through its policy toward Rhodesia the United States is raising the likelihood of violence and of civil war.

The truth is just the opposite. There is bloodshed and civil war now and has been for years. The violence is certain to increase. The Rhodesian authorities — recognized by no one — face an impossible task. The issue is not whether change will take place — but how; whether by violence or by peaceful means; whether the future of southern Africa will be determined by guns or through accommodation. The answer will determine what legacy will be left to the peoples of southern Africa. What we seek is the only alternative to intensified conflict: a negotiated settlement that assures the rights of all Rhodesians, black and white, preserves the economic strength of the country, and removes the opportunity for foreign intervention.

We are moving energetically to take advantage of the momentum thus far achieved. A process is in train. We are engaged in frequent consultations with the African states most directly concerned. We have been in close touch with Great Britain, which has an historic and legal responsibility for Rhodesia. Following my trip to Africa I had useful talks with South African Prime Minister Vorster after which the Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs returned to Africa for further consultations.

Obviously I cannot go into details about delicate and complicated negotiations which are still in a formative stage. I can say that while the task is formidable, it is by no means impossible. If it is to succeed, however, all interested parties will have to do their share.

The white population of Rhodesia must recognize the inevitable and negotiate for a solution which respects its basic interests while there is yet time. South Africa must demonstrate its commitment to Africa by assisting a negotiated outcome. The black African states — especially those most directly concerned — must provide guidance, encourage unity among black leaders and help ease the transition to a government based on majority rule and minority rights. The black leaders of Rhodesia must submerge their differences and outline a future of cooperation and racial coexistence in an independent Zimbabwe.

Failure would be serious, but it will not occur because of lack of effort by the United States.

We have made progress.

We will continue on our course with hope and dedication.

While Rhodesia is the most immediately dangerous of the problems of southern Africa, the future of **Namibia** is also of deep concern.

The former German colony of South-West Africa was a mandated territory of South Africa from 1920 until the United Nations terminated the mandate in 1966. Five years ago the International Court of Justice held that South Africa's continued occupation of Namibia was illegal. The United States supported both of those decisions, and voted for a UN resolution calling for South Africa to take specific steps toward Namibia's self-determination and independence by August, 1976. That deadline is now upon us.

Progress in solving the Namibian problem has become imperative. A source of international discord for many years, Namibia, like Rhodesia, contains the seeds of greater conflict. With thousands of foreign troops north of the Namibian border and with intensifying warfare in Rhodesia, a far more volatile climate for violence exists in southern Africa. The risks of confrontation mount. Time is running out.

The United States strongly supports self-determination and independence for Namibia. We urge South Africa to permit the people and all the political groups of Namibia to express themselves freely, under UN supervision, and to participate in determining the future of their country. We support also a firm date for self-determination for Namibia. At the same time we urge the African groups concerned to approach negotiations in a spirit of conciliation. We are working actively in this direction.

We are convinced that a solution can be found protecting the interests of **all** who live and work in Namibia. Once concrete steps are underway, the U.S. will ease its restrictions on trade and investment in Namibia and provide economic and technical assistance to help that nation consolidate its independence.

The problem of **South Africa** itself is more complex. No one — including the responsible leaders of black Africa — challenge the right of white South Africans to live in their country. They are not colonialists; historically they are an African people; they have lived on African soil for three hundred years. But South Africa's internal structure is explosive and incompatible with any concept of human dignity.

Racial discrimination is a blight which afflicts many nations of the world. But South Africa is unique in institutionalizing discrimination in an all-pervasive, enforced separation of the races which mocks any definition of human equality. The recent clashes in black urban townships and black universities in South Africa are a vivid expression of the frustration of black South Africans toward a system that denies them status, dignity, or political rights. The United States appeals to South Africa to heed these warning signals. The United States, true to its own beliefs, will use all its influence to encourage peaceful change, an end to institutionalized inequality, and equality of opportunity and basic human rights in South Africa.

The new momentum of our policy in southern Africa has been welcomed by African leaders, of all political persuasions. It has found widespread support around the world. It has given heart to moderate leaders and friends of America. It is the best chance for peaceful solutions and for a secure and just future for Africa free of outside intervention.

There are grounds for hope. What is needed now is vision and courage among the groups and governments involved — and in America public support and understanding for the course which we are pursuing. In this spirit, the United States appeals to all nations and parties involved to take rapid, responsible and cooperative steps and thereby spare countless thousands the agony and sacrifices that violence brings:

- We appeal to the current Rhodesian authorities to begin urgent talks for an independent Zimbabwe while the future of the white population can still be negotiated peacefully and guarantees are yet attainable. On this basis, let all Rhodesians, black and white, end the bloodshed and work together to create a new nation in which all races coexist and cooperate in peace.

  We appeal to the Republic of South Africa to recognize that the wind of change is again blowing through Africa. Let it end its increasing isolation and demonstrate its commitment to Africa by making a positive contribution to the humane evolution of the continent.

- We appeal to the black African nations of southern Africa to continue the statesman-like effort which they have already begun. They have declared that peace and stability can only be built upon a settlement that takes account of

the legitimate interests of all the groups and races involved. Let them help make these pronouncements a reality.

- And we appeal to the former colonial powers to use their valued, continuing ties to Africa to promote justice, peace, and economic progress for Africa, turning the legacy of the past into a proud and positive future.

Let all the nations and groups make a conscious and dedicated effort to overcome the hatred and distrust of generations. This cannot be easy. But to repeat the past is to perpetuate its anguish. Old injustices cannot be removed by accumulating new ones. At some point, the cycle of violence must be broken and the suffering ended. There will not soon come again an opportunity such as we now have.

Economic Development

The nations of Africa do not want to expend all their energies on the problems of southern Africa. No peoples have more earned the right to economic progress. None have a better prospect to realize their aspiration to economic development. America stands ready to cooperate with Africa on the long-term positive tasks of economic development. The obstacles are vast — but so are the opportunities.

Africa is blessed with immense natural wealth. The ratio of population to resources is more favorable than in almost any other region of the developing world. And there is great potential for increasing agricultural productivity.

But development in Africa must also surmount great handicaps, some faced by developing nations everywhere, others unique to Africa.

First, Africa is encumbered by a cruel legacy of history. The continent is fragmented by frontiers drawn in the colonial period into political units that do not always produce a viable national economy. Tribal divisions often thwart the national cohesion and social organization needed for development. Spanning these states are regions of enormous extremes, from fertile and rich lands to poor and barren deserts.

Second, Africa bears a crushing burden of poverty. Eighteen of the world's 28 least-developed countries are located in Africa. Only seventeen percent of the people are literate. Out of every hundred infants born, 15 die before their first birthday; life expectancy is ten years less than the average in the developing world and almost 30 years less than in the U.S.

Third, Africa is the chronic victim of natural disaster. Few regions are so subject to natural catastrophe. For example, drought in the Sahel on the southern edge of the Sahara desert, has become chronic; it is altering the ecology of western Africa and has expanded the desert, which now encroaches steadily into once-fertile lands producing famine and suffering.

Fourth, Africa is dependent on the world economy to an extraordinary degree. Many African countries rely almost exclusively on the export of one or two primary products for critical foreign exchange earnings. The world recession and declining raw material prices, together with rising prices for food and fuel, have hit the African nations harder than any other region of the world.

America has a stake in the economic development of Africa. A world in which half prosper while the other half despair, cannot be tranquil; a world which the majority of nations considers unjust is a world of instability, turmoil, and danger.

We have sought to respond to the challenges of African development in four ways:

First, to surmount the economic fragmentation that is the legacy of the colonial era the United States has supported efforts for regional cooperation within Africa. For example, we have offered our help to promote a more efficient regional transportation network in southern Africa. We have stressed the importance of regional cooperation to deal with the pervasive problems of the Sahel. We believe that the African Fund proposed by President Giscard of France can be used to encourage other regional initiatives.

Second, to help Africa surmount its pervasive poverty, American trade and investment are crucial and they are rapidly expanding. But they are not enough, especially for the poorest countries. Our bilateral assistance programs are increasingly concentrated on the least developed countries and on such sectors as food, education, and population where the needs of the

poor are greatest. Our requests to the Congress for development assistance for Africa are planned to grow substantially over the coming years.

Third, to reduce Africa's vulnerability to natural disasters, the United States is placing great emphasis on long-term development projects. The time has come for comprehensive international programs aimed at eliminating problems rather than engaging in relief efforts to ease their effects. Last May in Dakar we outlined a program for international cooperation to help the nations of the Sahel develop additional water resources, increase crop acreage by modern agricultural methods, and improve food storage facilities, all designed to make the Sahel less vulnerable to crises in the future.

Fourth, the United States has taken the lead in efforts to reform the global economic system for the benefit of the developing nations. We called for and made recommendations to the World Food Conference of 1974, to expand agricultural production worldwide. In United Nations meetings ever since we have set forth comprehensive proposals to accelerate development. As a result, several new institutions and mechanisms of cooperation have been created. We have proposed just means of improving the earnings potential of key raw materials. We have reduced trade barriers to the exports of many developing countires into the United States. We are paying special attention to problems of developing countries at the Multilateral Trade Negotiations now underway in Geneva. We have made proposals for a system of world food security. We are examining ways to help developing countries hard hit by increasing energy costs to improve their energy programs. All these initiatives have special relevance to Africa and bring particular benefits to it.

Economic development in Africa requires the cooperation of **all** the industrial democracies. No other group of countries — certainly not the socialist countries — is able to provide similar levels of technology, managerial expertise or resources. But the industrial democracies must coordinate their programs if they are not to dissipate resources and see their efforts overlap or conflict. This is why the United States has endorsed the imaginative proposal of President Giscard of France for a fund to organize and coordinate Western assistance efforts for Africa. And we are seeking within the Organization for Economic Development a more general coordination of development efforts among the industrial democracies.

Economic development is a long-term process. Manifestos, rhetorical assaults or wholesale programs to redistribute wealth are not the answer. Development depends above all on the sustained and substantial effort of the developing countries themselves. And it requires cooperation between industrialized and developing nations. Neither can impose solutions on the other. An atmosphere of rancor, extortion or unworkable resolutions undermines public support in the industrial nations whose effective contribution is crucial to development. Confrontation leads to retrogression for both the industrial and the developing world. Progress will be sustained only if it benefits both sides.

The choice we all face is between cooperation and chaos. America has made its decision. We will work with all nations in a constructive spirit to make our interdependence a period of unparalleled progress for all of mankind.

African Independence

The surest way to thwart all hopes for political and economic progress in Africa will be to permit the continent to become an arena in which outside powers contest for spheres of influence. Africa has only recently freed itself of great power rivalry. The clock must never be turned back.

The United States does not seek any pro-American block in Africa. We will accept and support the non-alignment of all nations and groups. But we strongly oppose the efforts of any other nation to undermine African independence and unity by attempting to establish an exclusive, dominant position. African unity, integrity and independence are, and will remain, fundamental tenets of our policy.

We have heard it said that there is no need to fear foreign intervention in Africa; that, however successful non-African nations may prove to be temporarily, at some

JC 185

indefinite date in the future, African nationalism will reassert itself and expel the intruder. But let us not forget that it took generations to throw off colonial powers. The modern forms of intervention are much more refined and more difficult to remove. Those who are threatened or pressured from outside do not have the luxury of waiting for history; they must decide whether to resist or succumb. Advice which counsels adaptation and confidence in the verdict of the future and which pretends that freedom occurs automatically may sentence African nations to decades of outside interference and the entire continent to increasing great power confrontation.

There is no better guarantee against foreign intervention than the determination of African nations to defend their own independence and unity. Let us, therefore, not minimize the importance of the security problems that some African nations face. I cannot accept the proposition that black African nations do not have the same right as other nations to defend themselves against recognized dangers — especially when their neighbors have been heavily armed by the Soviet Union. We are determined to avoid unnecessary arms races. But when friendly nations like Kenya or Zaire make modest and serious requests for assistance to protect themselves against neighbors possessing substantial Soviet arms, we owe them our serious consideration.

The ultimate solution is for Africa to strengthen the institutions of its unity and thereby its capacity to insulate African problems from outside involvement. We welcome the efforts of those black African leaders who have specifically warned against great power involvement in the problems of southern Africa and who have asked the great powers to refrain from supplying individual factions. The United States supports this principle and will abide by it. The United States will do its utmost to help prevent a repetition of the factional and regional rivalries that made it possible for outsiders in Angola to replace a Portuguese army of occupation with a Cuban one.

We will vigorously support African unity, independence and integrity.

America's Commitment

Distant events touch our lives and our hearts — whether it is a drought in the Sahel, a civil war in Lebanon or an earthquake in China. In the modern age, our consciousness of each other is a moral as well as a practical reality. The future of races, nations, or continents, is shared.

That is why America's acceptance of global responsibilities is not an act of generosity, but a wise pursuit of the national interest. If we do not do our best to maintain the peace, it is not just the rest of the world but we, ourselves, who will suffer. If we fail to help those living in poverty and despair, the torrent of revolution and turmoil that will inevitably follow will affect us all. And if we flag in our effort to support the forces of liberty and human dignity we cannot long preserve our own freedom.

For two centuries the oppressed everywhere have known that the Declaration of Independence was addressed not just to Americans, but to all the world. Men and women deprived of freedom in other lands knew that it was an appeal not just to the conscience of this country, but to all mankind.

No group knows better than this one that justice must always be even-handed, that no moral end is served if the contest is defined as which group shall dominate the others. As we defend majority rule we must not neglect minority rights. As we promote economic development, we must never forget that economic progress is empty if it does not extend the area of human freedom.

Today one of history's great human dramas is being played out in Africa. Their peoples cry out for liberty and economic advance. They will not be denied. The question is whether mankind has learned from its travail; whether the price of freedom must be paid in treasure and lasting hatred.

Let us pray it will not be so. Let us help the voice of reason to prevail in Africa. In so doing, we will have reflected America's own values in the world. And we will have taken a great step toward the goal of a true world community of brotherhood that remains our most nobal vision.

Mr. McGannon: Thank you, Dr. Kissinger. Dr. Kissinger has agreed to answer questions from a panel of journalists. Tonight, we have with us, Tom Johnson, national correspondent for the New York Times; Ms. Ethel Payne, Sengstacke Publications, Chicago; Gene Pell, Group W News and WBZ, Boston and Ron Brown, Di-

tor of the National Urban League's Washington Bureau.

Q: Dr. Kissinger, why does the State Department lag so far behind other federal agencies in recruiting and upgrading black Americans? Why does it lag so far behind the United States Information Service and what are you doing about it?

Dr. Kissinger: I have not made a study comparing the State Department to other agencies, but the requirements for entry in the State Department are in general more complicated than they are for the other agencies. In the last few years, however, we have had two commissions look at the problem of how we can increase the number of black personnel in the State Department.

A major effort is under way. We have appointed the first black Assistant Secretary. We have a number of Deputy Assistant Secretaries but not enough has been done, but I'm sure that over a period of two or three years you will see a steady increase in the number of black personnel in the State Department.

Q: Can you describe what the commission is doing?

Dr. Kissinger: What they are attempting to do is to look for . . . It serves nobody's purpose to appoint black personnel unless they meet all the qualifications. We are making a determined effort to look all over the country for people who meet these qualifications. We have increased the number of black personnel in the State Department. We will continue to increase it. We will give preference to black personnel wherever possible. We are making a serious effort to increase the number of qualified blacks in the Department of State. We are dedicated to this and we will carry it out.

Q: Mr. Secretary, you stated in your remarks that the realization of the significance of Africa has not come easily to American policy and that it grew out of paintful experience. Why did we wait so long to come to that realization and would be have come to it if it had not been for the Soviet intervention in Angola?

Dr. Kissinger: There is no question it took us some time to understand all the ramifications of African policy. There is also the fact that for the better part of the decade the United States energies were absorbed in Vietnam and other policies and as a result had an insufficient priority.

Starting in 1974, I began meeting the foreign ministers of Africa regularly. The trip I took to Africa had been planned before the event in Angola. But there is no question and there is no point hiding the fact that the accelerating events in southern Africa dramatized the world-wide implications of what is going on in Africa. We are doing our best to deal with the situation according to our best light under the circumstances that now exist.

Q: After the uprisings in South Africa; with the new restrictions carried out in South Africa; additional black leaders were arrested or otherwise discriminated against. The question is: at your next meeting with Prime Minister Vorster, will you raise these issues?

Dr. Kissinger: Well, first there is no meeting scheduled now with Prime Minister Vorster. Whether there will be another meeting depends entirely on what progress can be made towards the goals I have described in this speech.

At my last meeting with Prime Minister Vorster, I made clear the American attitude with respect to these events. If there is to be another meeting, which is not yet settled, I will, of course, emphasize that America stands for equality of the races, and against the policy of apartheid, as it is being practiced.

Q: Mr. Secretary, for many years there was a practice of assigning black American ambassadors all over the world and there seems to be a growing recent practice of assigning black American ambassadors only to black African or Caribbean nations. How are you going to deal with that problem in the future?

Dr. Kissinger: We will assign black ambassadors to any place in the world. If this

distribution has occurred recently, it is not a deliberate policy and it is not the pattern of the future. Let me make on thing clear. When we assign ambassadors, we don't ask whether they are black or white.

Q: Mr. Secretary, the Nigerian diplomats have told me that they refuse to welcome you during your last trip to Africa because they are a major world power and they would not accept your coming and blitzing through Nigeria. They said you would be welcomed if you came on a plan of a separate visit. One question: are your lines of communication with Nigeria so bad that your people did not know this? Will you plan a more formal visit to Nigeria?

Dr. Kissinger: That was not the reason that was given to us at the time and I think there were many other complicating reasons including the coup that had just taken place in Nigeria. On the other hand, we recognize that Nigeria is one of the principal African countries. We are making a major effort to improve our relations. The Foreign Minister of Nigeria visited me in Washington only last Friday. I have every expectation our relations with Nigeria will improve, and if I could possibly make it, I will visit Nigeria certainly the next time I go to Africa.

Q: Mr. Secretary, on several occasions, you talked about why we should not interfere in the internal affairs of the Soviet Union and Eastern European countries because that would be counterproductive and that quiet diplomacy might be more likely to achieve our goals of political and human change. And yet you have outlined a program of, it seems to me at least, very active American intervention indications in South Africa. Is there some inconsistency in our policy?

Dr. Kissinger: With respect to domestic events in other countries, we have made our position clear. We have on those occasions, through quiet diplomacy, managed to produce a rather substantial increase in, for example, the immigration rate from the Soviet Union. In southern Africa, however, we are dealing with a much different situation. We are dealing in the case of Rhodesia with a government which is recognized by no other government in the world, not even by South Africa.

Dr. Kissinger: We are dealing in the mid-year with a United Nations mandate that has been terminated by the United Nations. A decision which was upheld by the International Code of Justice. So these are by definition, international problems and our effort is directed towards bringing about the necessary changes by peaceful means and without foreign intervention. We are offering our good offices to help the negotiations.

Q: Mr. Secretary, do you agree with Mr. Jordan's statement of last evening that there should be a moratorium on further investments by U.S. firms in South Africa until there has been relaxation of the apartheid policy?

Dr. Kissinger: We are certainly strongly in favor of American firms operating in South Africa not to carry out the apartheid principles on their premises and to recognize racial equality.

As to the question of further investments, this is a complicated problem which I have not really studied yet.

Q: With respect to the Israeli raids on the airport in Entebbe, do we recognize, do we believe this will now be an accepted form of international action, where national terrorism is the issue?

Dr. Kissinger: The United States expressed its pleasure that the hostages were rescued. We are strongly opposed to the use of international terrorism. We believe that the international community must do something to put an end to it. We cannot develop international principles, where nations as a question of principle have the right to attack other nations. But in the case of international terrorism where there have been no accepted rules, we would have to look at it on a case-by-case basis.

Mr. McGannon: Thank you Mr. Secretary. Mr. Secretary, the National Urban League Conference is more informed because of your painstaking and complete description this evening of the American policy in Africa. We appreciate your time and your energy.

'89

Black Perspectives on the Bicentennial

Economic Progress of Blacks after 200 Years

A Publication of the National Urban League, Inc.

Tuesday, August 3, 1976 — 9:00 a.m.

The Right to Economic Security

Presiding:

James B. Farley, NUL Trustee; Booz, Allen & Hamilton, Inc.

Guest Speaker:

Andrew F. Brimmer, NUL Trustee; President, Brimmer & Company, Economic & Financial Consultants, Washington, D.C.

Mr. Farley: Our speaker this morning is a former member of the Board of Governors for the Federal Reserve System. He is a former Thomas Henry Carroll Ford Foundation Visiting Professor at Harvard University. He is now chairman and president of Brimmer and Company. In addition he is a director and economic advisor of the DuPont Company. He is a director of United Airllines, and Equitable Life; a Trustee of the Ford Foundations and Tuskegee Institute. Dr. Brimmer has had a distinguished career as an economist. He is a highly respected member of the world of academia and has served most competently his nation and our society.

During Andy's eight-and-a-half year tenure of the Federal Reserve Board, he was considered an expert on International Monetary Affairs. At the same time he was known and respected as an authority on the role of blacks in the economy, often speaking in terms that were provocative and controversial.

One of Andy's recent contributions to our society was a letter to President Gerald Ford on December 20, 1974. Dr. Brimmer originated the suggestion of a 10 percent rebate of 1974 personal income taxes to stimulate the economy and to help end the worse recession since 1937. After a modification as you know, the President adopted a version of Andy's proposal. After further modification Congress enacted the provision which accounted for 8.1 billion dollars of the 22.8 billion tax reduction passed in early 1975. These are but a few of Andy Brimmer's many accomplishments. May I introduce the distinguished Dr. Andrew Felton Bimmer. Andy.

Dr. Brimmer: The persistence of excessively high levels of unemployment is the deepest rut in the road to full economic recovery, and blacks have suffered a disproportionate share of the bumps! Moreover, if there is no change in the present configuration of national economic policy, the prospects of significant improvement in the job picture in the near future is far from bright. Given this outlook, I am convinced that a vigorous debate over ways to achieve full employment in the United States should be a central feature of the uncoming presidential campaign.

I recently completed a major assessment of the economic situation of blacks in this country for the National Commission for Manpower Policy. That study is a fairly exhaustive examination of employment and income trends in the black community — set against the backdrop of national economic trends during the last decade and a half. For this occasion, I have drawn on the conclusion of that study. However, I have also taken a closer look at the near-term job prospects, and the picture I see is far from encouraging.

Before turning to a discussion of the results of this most recent analysis, a brief summary can be presented here:

- The nation's economy is well along in its recovery from the 1974-75 recession, but the pace of expansion is currently slowing somewhat. The near-

James B. Farley

term outlook is for a noticeable further slackening in activity in the second half of 1977, and we face a "growth recession" in 1978. Real gross national product (GNP - after allowing for price changes) might rise by 6.7 per cent in 1977, and 2.7 per cent in 1978.

- The pace of inflation has improved greatly since double-digit rates were being recorded in 1974. However, the core rate of inflation remains in the range of 5-6 per cent — which is still high by historical standards. Moreover, the basic rate of inflation is not likely to decline very much in the near future.
- The persistently high unemployment rate (at 7.5 per cent in June) remains one of the most difficult national economic problems. But the rate for blacks (at 13.3 per cent) is ever more distressing. The unemployment rates for both the total labor force and for white workers (at 6.8 per cent in June) have declined 1.0 percentage point from the recession peak. Yet, the rate for blacks has decreased only 0.5 percentage point. Infact, the recovery has benefitted blacks to a much smaller extent than has been the case with whites.
- In the near-term, there appears to be little prospect of a boom in the nation's economy. Housing and construction are particularly depressed. For that reason, the $3.950 billion public works bill (which Congress enacted over the President's veto) was clearly in the national interest. (Now blacks must press to get their fair share of the publicly — funded construction jobs).
- Looking ahead over the next four years, we need a greatly stepped — up national effort ot achieve full employment. We should aim for an unemployment rate between 4-4½ per cent by 1980. The key stone of this policy should be a sustained annual rate of growth in real GNP in the range of 5-6 per cent.
- But we must also remain alert to the dangers of rekindling excessively high rates of inflation — which too much reliance on aggregate monetary and fiscal stimulus would produce. Instead, we need tp put more stress on breaking supply bottlenecks and specially — targeted manpower programs.
- Fundamentally, we must rely on the private sector to create the needed jobs — although more public service jobs can also be helpful — especially to young people who now suffer permanently from depression — levels rates of unemployment.
- If the present configuration of national economic policies remain in place over the next four years, blacks are not likely to make any meaningful progress in closing the gaps between themselves and whites in the nation's labor market. I assume that blacks (as well as whites) will recognize the real cost of this waste of human resources — and will act to correct the situation.

Recession and Recovery in the National Economy

In the second quarter of this year, real GNP rose at a seasonally adjusted annual rate of 4.4%. This represented a significant moderation in the pace of economic expansion compared with the 9.2% rate of growth recorded during the January-March period. Some easing off had been expected, but the actual outcome was a surprise. Nevertheless, the national economy's recovery from the 1974-75 recession was definitely continuing.

During the recession — which extended from the final quarter of 1973 through the first quarter of 1975 — real GNP fell by 6.6%. Industrial production declined by 14%, and the percentage of manufacturing capacity in use shrank from 83 to 66. Over the nine months ending in the second quarter of 1975, approximately 2.5 million jobs were lost. The number of persons without work climbed from 5 million in the third quarter of 1974 to 8.2 million in the second quarter of 1975. This reflected the continued rise in the civilian labor force as well as the decline in employment. During the recession, the unemployment rate jumped from 5.5% to 8.9%.

In the spring of 1975, recovery got underway, and the pace accelerated during the summer months. The recovery was led by a modest rise in real consumer spending — which, in turn — was sparked by the $20 billion reduction in personal income taxes adopted in the spring of last year. As 1975 progressed, spending by the household sector gained strength. A noticeable slackening in the pace of inventory liquidation in the last half of 1975 also lent support to total economic activity.

So far in 1976, consumers have again been the mainspring of the economy. This is especially true of the strong rise in outlays for new cars. In contrast, business spending on plant and equipment has been particularly sluggish. Housing starts have risen only moderately. Spending by the public sector (including Federal as well as state and local governments) has not been a major source of strength for the national economy.

Andrew F. Brimmer

At mid-year, the general expectation was for continued expansion through the remainder of the year. For example, Data Resources, INC. (DRI), whose projections I follow most closely, was forecasting real GNP to rise at an annual rate of about 5.8% during the second half of 1976. The unemployment rate, which averaged 7.4% in the second quarter, was forecast to decline to about 7.0% in the closing months of the year.

The overall pace of inflation (as measured by the GNP deflator — the most broadly-based of the price indexes) ran around 4.7% in the second quarter of this year. During the same period, the consumer price index (CPI) advanced at an annual rate of 6.1%. Both of these measures represent a significant improvement compared with the double-digit rates which prevailed in 1974. For instance, both the GNP deflator and CPI rose at an average rate of about 12% in the last half of 1974.

In general, economic recovery has lifted the level of economic activity well above the recession lows. For example, in the second quarter of this year, real GNP (at an annual rate of $1,260 billion) was 8.8% above that recorded during the recession trough in the first quarter of 1975. During the recovery period, industrial production has risen by 16%. The national unemployment rate — which averaged 8.7% in the second quarter of 1975 — had eased off to an average of 7.4% in the same period of this year.

Job Patterns in Black and White

During the 1974-75 recession and subsequent recovery, the job experience of blacks differed significantly compared with that of their white counterparts. In general, blacks had to bear a disproportionate share of the burden of increased unemployment during the recession, and they have benefitted proportionately less from the subsequent recovery.

In June of this year, there were 10.8 million blacks [2] in the labor force. Blacks were holding 9.4 million jobs, and 1.4 million were unemployed or looking for work. In the same month, 94.6 million people were in the civilian labor force. Total employment amounted to 87.5 million, and 7.1 million workers were idle. So, in June, blacks accounted for 11.4% of the civilian labor force; 10.7% of total employment, and 20.3% of all unemployment persons.

As mentioned above, the adverse impact of the 1974-75 recession was especially marked among blacks. For example, from September, 1974, through April, 1975 — the worst phase of the recession — the total civilian labor force continued to expand. In sharp contrast, the black labor force declined somewhat — with the declines being registered mainly among adult males and teenagers of both sexes. During the same period, blacks lost their jobs at almost double the rate experienced by whites. For instance, in September, 1974, blacks held 10.9% of the total jobs. But during the succeeding seven months, they accounted for 21.7% of the recession-induced decline in employment. About 17.5% of the climb in total joblessness over this period was borne by the black community.

So far in the recovery, blacks have not participated in the job rebound as fully as have whites. For example, between March, 1975, and June, 1976, the total civilian labor force rose by 3.0%; the corresponding figures for blacks and whites were 4.8% and 2.6%, respectively. Over the same period, the total employment expanded by 4.0%; black employment climbed by 4.8%, and jobs held by whites rose by 3.9%. However, in actual numbers, the growth of the black labor force (by 496 thousand) outstripped the rise in black employment (479 thousand). Consequently, over the 15-month period, the number of blacks without jobs rose by 1.2% — while total joblessness declined by 8.2%, and joblessness among whites declined by 10.3%.

Reflecting these mixed trends, the total unemployment rate in June was 7.5%, and that for whites was 6.8%. Both of these rates were a full 1.0 percentage point below the rates recorded in March, 1975. In contrast, the unemployment rate for blacks in June was 13.3% — only 0.5 percentage point below that for March last year. Among demographic groups, the unemployment rate for black teenagers rose

somewhat (to 40.3%) during this period — while the unemployment rate for all other groups declined.

The extent to which black unemployment has responded more slowly to economic recovery can be seen in the behavior of the black-white unemployment ratio. In March, 1975, the ratio was 1.77. By June, 1976, it had climbed to 1.96 — reflecting the relatively greater decrease in the white unemployment rate. The same pattern was evident among adult black males and females — as well as among black youths of both sexes.

These mixed black-white employment patterns should be kept in mind as we turn to a brief assessment of the near-term outlook for the national economy.

Near Term Economic Outlook: Impact on Jobs

At this juncture, the prospect that economic expansion will extend through 1977 seems fairly bright. However, the accumulating evidence also suggests that the pace of expansion is slowing down. For example, the index of leading indicators (published by the U.S. Department of Commerce) rose by 0.3% in June. This was the smallest rise in seven months in this key measure which was designed to forecast the direction of change in aggregate economic activity. The index rose by 0.7% in May. For the second quarter as a whole, the gain was 2.0%. This figure is in marked contrast to the quarterly increases recorded during the last year: 5.8% in the second quarter of 1975; 6.1% in the third; 0.5% in the fourth, and 2.7% in the January-March months of this year.

The main contours of economic activity in 1976 and the next two years (as forecast by DRI) are shown in Table 3. Several features of these data are worth mentioning. Real GNP, which is projected to rise by 6.7% this year, may grow by 5.5% in 1977 and by 2.7% in 1978. If this pattern does materialize, the country would be caught in a "growth recession" two years from now — meaning that ouput would be rising at a rate below its long-run potential of about 4.0%. Such a situation would not represent an acutal recession, but it would reflect a significant slow-down in economic performance.

Real consumer spending may rise by only 3.0% in 1978 — compared with nearly 5½ % in 1976 and 1977. Non-residential fixed investment (which might expand by 8.2% next year) may advance by 6½ % a year later. Spending on residential construction may rise by about 24% this year — and the growth rate may then ease off to only 1.1% in 1978. Other major spending sectors may display a similar slackening pattern.

But behind these broad outlines is a mosaic of rising unused resources — both human and physical. If the projected slowdown in the rate of expansion does materialize, about 6.3 million people might be unemployed in both 1977 and 1978 — compared with an average of 6.9 million this year. The total unemployment rate might average 7.3% in 1976; 6.4% in 1977, and 6.3% in 1978.

The backlog of unused physical resources is typified by the projected capacity utilization rate in manufacturing. For 1976 as a whole, a 73.2% operating rate is forecast. The rate is projected at 76.4% in both 1977 and 1978. While these levels would represent substantial improvement over the 68.7% registered in 1975, they would still leave considerable spare capacity in the nation's factories.

But of all major segments of the economy, the housing and construction sectors are likely to show the greatest weakness. For example, private housing starts may average 1.512 million in 1976. This would represent a considerable advance over the 1.164 million units started last year, but it would remain well below the 2.356 million starts recorded in 1972. Partly reflecting the expanded availability of mortgage credit during the last year or so, private starts may climb to 1.800 million in 1977. But the adverse effects of increased monetary restraint (which virtually every observer of the financial scene expects to occur later this year) starts may be shaved to 1.735 million in 1978.

In the construction industry as whole, employment in the second quarter remained at the depressed level reached a year earlier. In June, the unemployment rate in construction was about 17% — compared with 7.5% for the economy as a whole. If present trends continue, employment in contract construction may shrink further during the remaining months of this year. In 1977, such employment might rise by 4.2%, but the gain may amount to only 1.9% in 1978.

Given this prospect, the Congress' decision late last month to override President Ford's veto of a measure to create additional jobs in the construction industry was

clearly in the national interest. The law provides $3,950 million (well below the $6.2 billion measured vetoed successfully by the President last February) in Federal grants to state and local governments to finance ready-to-go public works. About $2.0 billion would be provided for a variety of construction projects (such as office buildings and parks) which could be launched within three months. Roughly 200,000 jobs may be generated in the process. Another $1.25 billion was authorized as anti-recession grants to preserve up to 90,000 jobs which might otherwise be cut from the public payroll during an economic downturn. Finally, $700 million was voted to enable the Federal Government ot make anti-pollution grants to states to help rural areas and smaller communities to improve water quality. Perhaps 60,000 jobs would be stimulated by this provision.

In all, about 350,000 construction jobs would be created by the spending generated by this measure. Blacks stand a good chance to get a fair share of these jobs — if they press their claim. In 1974, the construction industry accounted for 5.0% of total employment (which amounted to 8,112 thousand), compared with 6.7% of the 85.9 million jobs in the economy as a whole. However, while blacks held 10.8% of the total jobs, they had only 8.7% of those in construction. This proportion represented a construction job deficit of approximately one-fifth. Blacks need to press for a closing of this short-fall — especially in Federally-assisted projects.

V. Long-Term Economic Outlook: Prospects for Blacks

At this juncture, we might look ahead to the kind of economic horizon — and the prospects for black employment — that might be in store toward the end of this decade. On July 16 of this year, the Federal Government made public its latest long-run forecasts and projections of overall economic activity. The main features of the forecasts are shown in Table 4. Several highlights of these data should be mentioned. Real GNP (which fell by 2.0% in 1975) is forecast to rise by 6.8% in 1976.

Between 1975 and 1981, the real growth rate is projected to rise at an average annual rate of 5.5%. However, the rate falls off sharply (to about 4.1%) in the early 1980's. The rate of inflation (as measured by the CPI) might average 4.5% over the entire period. But the rate in 1980-81 may average only 3.0%. If this profile were to materialize, it would represent a major achievement in the campaign against inflation.

On the other hand, the unemployment rate is projected to average 5.7% through the early 1980's. In 1980-81, the figure might average 5.7% through the early 1980's. In 1980-81, the figure might average 4.8%.

However, the rate of growth in real GNP may well be below the annual average of 5.5% projected by the Administration. For example, DRI has projected real GNP to rise at an average annual rate of 5.0% between 1975 and 1980 — and 4.5% between 1976 and 1980, thus allowing for the rebound from the recession. (See Table 5). The DRI projection puts the average annual increase in the CPI at roughly 4.9% (versus 4.5% implied by the Ford Administration). Over the same period, the nation's unemployment rate may average 6.6% — according to the DRI forecast compared with the Administration's 5.7%.

If the actual unemployment experience during the rest of this decade turns out to be less hopeful than the Ford Administration anticipates, the results would be disappointing for the nation at large — and disastrous for the black community. This fact can be seen readily in the figures in Table 6, which shows the civilian labor force, employment, and unemployment (by race, sex, and age) in 1975 and projections for 1976 and 1980 — based on the DRI projections.

Several features stand out in these figures. If the national unemployment rate were to average 4.8% in 1980, it would represent substantial improvement compared with the 8.5% experienced in 1975. Under this assumption, the total number of jobless blacks would decrease from 1,450 thousand in 1975 to about 950 thousand in 1975. However, their share of total unemployment would rise noticeably (from 18.4% in 1975 to 20.3% in 1980). (The lower fraction in 1975 reflected the sharp rise in white unemployment induced by the recession rather than any basic improvement in blacks' position). The black-white unemployment ratio might be back at the historical 2.0 by 1980 — versus 1.78 recorded in 1975.

In conclusion, if the present national economic trends were to continue through the remainder of this decade, the effects on blacks would be particularly adverse. Under those circumstances, blacks would have little chance to resume the progress (checked by two recessions) toward closing the job and income gaps they suffer vis-a-vis whites.

VI. National Economic Policy and Full Employment

As I reflect on the unfolding economic scene, I see an urgent need to mount a vigorous national economic policy to achieve full employment. The persistance of excessive slack in many plants and other facilities is itself a waste of productive potential. But the continued idleness of millions of Americans — able and willing to work — is far worse. And the most tragic of all is the enforced idleness of nearly 1-3/4 million young people just at the point when they should be beginning useful lifetime careers. We should no longer tolerate such waste of human resources.

The evidence presented here suggests that overall economic activity will continue strong for the next several quarters. However, by the end of Spring, the pace of expansion will slacken. Real GNP might expand at an annual rate close to 6% in the second half of this year and around 5-3/4 in the January-June months of 1977. But the annual rate of growth may ease off to just over 4% in the second half of next year — with the final quarter experiencing a rate of expansion of only 3-3/4 %. For 1978 as a whole, real GNP may expand by only 2-3/4 %. Under these circumstances, the unemployment rate might get stuck in the neighborhood of 6-1/2 % over the next several years.

Given this prospect, we need to take several steps — at the Federal Government level — to enhance the prospects of achieving full employment. Over the next four years, we should seek to reduce the national unemployment rate from the present 7.5% to the range of 4-4-1/2 %. To aim for a lower rate over the same period of time would put so much pressure on resources that the danger of rekindling double-digit inflation would become quite real. And we must remind ourselves that the poor segments of the population (which include a disporportion of blacks) suffer most from high rates of inflation.

But even if we get the national unemployment rate down to the neighborhood of 4-1/2 % by 1980, the rate for whites may be under 4% while that for black workers might still exceed 8.0%. This would continue the historical 2 to 1 black-white ratio. It would represent no net improvement over a situation in which the legacy of racial discrimination and lack of opportunity have kept blacks from acquiring the skills which would permit them to compete more successfully in the nation's labor market.

As a country, we clearly need a new economic policy to achieve full employment. The central element in that policy should be a sustained rate of real economic growth in the range of 5-6% for the remainder of this decade. In view of the unused physical and human resources that now exist, we clearly have the potential to achieve this goal. In particular, we still have enormous slack in the housing and construction industry. And business spending on plant and equipment is also rising much more slowly than is necessary if we are to upgrade our facilities and create the jobs we will need in the future.

But we should not be content with more stimulus for the economy as a whole. If we do too much of this, we will run the danger of rekindling excessive high rates of inflation. Rather, we must also give serious attention to the supply side of the economy. We have done little to overcome many of the bottlenecks encountered in a number of materials producing industries in 1973-74. This is especially true in industries such as paper, chemicals, and steel production. To encourage American business to get on with this task, I have been among those advocating Federal tax reform to provide more stimulus for capital formation. I still think we need to assign a high priority to this goal.

The main efforts to expand job opportunities must come in the private sector. Blacks in particular will have to press for the accelerated expansion of private sector employment. Historically, blacks have found public payrolls relatively more open than was the case in the private sector. As a result, by 1974, public sector employment represented 21.6% of the total number of jobs held by blacks, but the corresponding proportion for all workers was only 16.1%.

On the other hand, for some segments of the population, the Government must stand ready to provide jobs. For them, the Government must be an employer of first — not last — resort. This may be especially true of young people who might otherwise not find jobs at all. Still other workers will be needed to upgrade and maintain the nation's basic public services — provided mainly at the State and local level.

Blacks — as well as whites — must also be concerned with the hardening attitudes toward the expansion of equal opportunity. In fact, there is growing evidence that a countermove to the campaign for affirmative action is underway. This cou-

termove appears in a variety of forms, but the main thrust is frequently expressed in charges of "reverse discrimination" against whites — especially against white men. But blacks are also becoming apprehensive over the extent to which the strong drive for equal opportunity on the part of white women have an adverse effect on blacks — especially on black men.

However, a close examination of employment trends in recent years suggests that — at the margin — white women have increased their share of the higher-paying jobs at a rate slightly faster than their representation in total employment. In contrast, all other groups — black men, black women, and other minorities — have experienced relatively more modest improvements. Although white men have seen their share of total employment (and especially among better paying occupations) decline slightly in recent years, they still command the heights of the occupational ladder — with little or no challenge. Consequently, it is toward those heights that blacks must look as they seek to improve their occupational status in the years ahead.

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[1] See, Andrew F. Brimmer, The Economic Position of Black Americans: 1976, Special Report No. 9, July, 1976, Washington, D.C.

[2] Most of the statistics relating to blacks used in this discussion refer to "Negroes and other races." Blacks constitute about 92% of the persons in this statistical category used by the U.S. Bureau of the Census.

James Wells
Shipyard 1948

American Negro workers have a long history of experience in industrial productioe

Tuesday, August 3, 1976, 12:00 Noon

Business and Labor Luncheon

Mr. Pollard: Master of Ceremony, President McGannon, Director Jordan, dais guests, Urban Leaguers. When you introduce the Secretary of Labor, you have a tremendous background in performance, you don't really have to say a lot. But I do want to share with you that he has something in common with the Director of the National Urban League. They are both from the State of Georgia.

The Civil Rights credentials the Secretary has come twenty years ago, when he was run out of a small town in Florida by the Klu Klux Klan for attempting to have an integrated union meeting. I think that qualifies him for the company he's in today.

The Secretary of the U.S. Department of Labor also serves as special assistant to the President for Labor Management Negotiations. Before assuming the cabinet post, Mr. Usery was Director of the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service. He joined the government in February 1969 as Assistant Secretary of Labor for Labor Management Relations, a post held until being named the Director of the FMCS.

He also served as a member of the National Commission for Industrial Peace, the National Commission on Productivity, and Collective Bargaining Committee in Construction and is chairman of the working party on Industrial Relations, under the organization of Economic Cooperation and Development. That took place from 1961 through 1967.

Secretary Usery also served as the Industrial Union Representative on the President's Missile Site Labor Committee at the Kennedy Space Center in Florida and the Marshal Space Flight Center in Alabama.

He serves on so many boards and commissions that we reduced it to the following: the Council of International Economic Policy, the Council on Wage and Price Stability, the Equal Employment Opportunity Coordinating Council, the National Commission for Manpower Policy, the National Council on Organized Crime and the President's Economic Policy Board.

Secretary Usery attended Georgia Military College from 1938 through '41 and Mercer College from 1948 to '49. I present to you a member in good standing of the International Association of Machinists Local 8, AFL-CIO, the Federal Government's most expert industrial troubleshooter, the Secretary of Labor, Mr. W.J. Usery.

Secretary Usery: Bill Pollard, I want to thank you for the kind words.

It is a pleasure to be able to join so many people from the ranks of labor, business, government and community action groups who are committed, as I am, to the causes of the National Urban League.

And it is a distinct honor to share a platform with one of our nation's most articulate, devoted, determined and successful proponents for social decency and economic dignity for all Americans, Vernon Jordan.

In accepting my appointment as Secretary of Labor early this year, I made a pledge: I promised myself that I would do everything within the power of my new office to stimulate the creation of jobs ... to help relieve the hardships and suffering

Presiding:

Coy Eklund,
NUL Trustee and Chairman, NUL Commerce and Industry Council; President, The Equitable Life Assurance Society

Invocation:

Dr. Rena Karefa Smart
Professor, Boston University School of Theology

Introduction:

William Pollard,
Director of Civil Rights AFL-CIO

Guest Speakers:

The Honorable W. J. Usery, Jr., Secretary, U.S. Department of Labor

William M. Ellinghaus
Vice Chairman of the Board, American Telephone & Telegraph

Benediction:

The Reverend Paul P. Rynne, Pastor, St. Johns and St. Hughs Church

W. J. Usery, Jr.

of displaced workers ... to advise and train those in search of work ... to help them find jobs.

I knew then, and I know now, that I could count on the National Urban League to help me to keep that pledge.

I have had the privilege of working with many fine representatives of your organization, receiving their counsel and their full cooperation.

Whether it be programs directly involving the Urban League — your Labor Education Advancement Program, the Journeyman Advanced Training Program, the many activities involving the Urban League through the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act — or other programs in which you have an indirect interest, such as the Job Corps, I have a personal sensitivity for your goals.

Because in real terms, I can trace my appointment as Secretary of Labor back along a direct line to a similar program.

Back in the days of the Depression — in times when all of us were as hungry for jobs as black youngsters are today — a number of agencies were set up to help put people to work.

One of them was the National Youth Administration — the NYA. The mission of the NYA was similar to that of your LEAP programs. It was to help young people through job guidance and placement programs.

When the clouds of war began drifting our way from Europe, the NYA was used to train young folks in the skills needed by a rapidly expanding defense industry.

I was a teenager at the time, going to school in Milledgeville, Georgia, and working part-time in a grocery store.

Like millions of other boys, I had a dream of becoming a big league baseball player. For me, the first step in that direction was to try to make a place for myself on the Augusta Tigers.

As luck would have it, the NYA was recruiting young men to be trained in Augusta as welders. Welders were in short supply at the shipyard in Brunswick, Georgia.

I saw this as twin opportunities.

So I tried out for the Augusta Tigers — and didn't make it.

But I did make it as a welder.

With the coming of the war, I enlisted in the Navy and was assigned to a repair ship.

During three years in the Pacific, I had plenty of time to join in the bull sessions of my shipmates. Among the leading topics of conversation on the repair ship — which was manned by craftsmen of all varieties — was the trade union movement.

Well, with some hard work and a fair amount of good luck, I am now in a position to help others find the same opportunity for rewarding employment as has been available to me.

I welcome this opportunity because I know that unemployment for a person wanting to work — regardless of sex, race, nationality, religion or handicap — is an indignity that everyone in this room, like myself, wants to see removed from the American scene.

You know, and I know, that in the society that Americans have constructed over the past two centuries, holding a steady job carries with it not simple a paycheck — but respect from our peers, and dignity for the individual.

On the other hand, unemployment carries a dear price for the individual, and is costly for society as we.

Unemployment causes suffering both for the victim and for the employed. This is tragically reflected in our crime rates, our divorce rates, our suicide rates — and, in an indirect way, in our tax rates.

Unemployment, together with its twin evil, inflation, are the primary enemies of economic equality.

The cooperative efforts between business, labor, community action groups and government engendered by the National Urban League have shown that progress can be made in the long struggle to give every American an equal opportunity in the job market.

But that progress will not be complete until every person ready, willing and able to work can find employment.

The programs that the Labor Department proudly shares with the Urban League can help to achieve that goal.

Through your Labor Education Advancement Program, Urban League affiliates

in forty-two cities are recruiting, tutoring, training and providing follow-up service t thousands of blacks, members of other minorities and women so that they will have th very best chance of success as apprentices in established training programs.

As in the National Urban League's efforts, women are playing a primary role in all of the Labor Department's apprenticeship programs.

Not long ago I received a report showing that there has been a seventy four percent increase in the number of women learning and earning on the job in fifty occuupational areas that were chosen for study specifically because a generation ago, they had been reserved for male apprentices.

Percentages, of course, can and often are misleading. The number of women registered as apprentices in those select occupations was three thousand seven hundred — or one in a hundred.

But the fact remains that women have gained a place in such occupational areas as subway construction, bridge building, boilermaking, bulldozing, truck driving and press operator.

Nearly a million women this year are taking part in some training and employment program funded by the Labor Department — including your fine LEAP operation.

The Labor Department's contribution to LEAP has been running at a rate of about five-million-dollars a year.

I can tell you today that this contract will be extended, beginning November 1.

The National Urban League and the Labor Department are partners, too, in a technical assistance program that helps you to help your affiliates to write and present proposals to prime sponsors under the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act, and to solve local problems.

Here again, I am pleased to say that this program will continue through a contract for nearly a million dollars that will become effective on November 1.

We have found that projects undertaken by the Urban League are generally of a high calibre. And because of that, we have looked with favor upon those local prime sponsors who involve your organization in on-the-job training and related programs financed by the Labor Department through CETA.

During 1975, some seventeen-million-dollars in CETA funds were used in Urban League projects that resulted in ten thousand seven hundred persons receiving jobs in which they earned nearly sixty two-million-dollars.

Put another way, more than ten thousand American citizens found their way off the unemployment rolls, and gained the dignity that comes with being a productive member of society — all for a cost of about one thousand six hundred-dollars each.

And that cost, in pure money terms, reaped dividends in local, state and federal taxes paid by the employed, and unemployment insurance funds that were not collected.

That, I contend, is a good investment.

Yes, we are proud of our cooperative efforts with the National Urban League — proud because you have made them work, and work well.

For that reason, we have been pleased to explore with you a pilot project aimed at placing severely disabled Vietnam veterans in rewarding jobs. I can tell you that we are making progress, and that the ideal that the proposal is based on has my full support.

While it is good to report to you on our past successes and future goals, I believe that all of us recognize the hard fact that any full employment program, by any name, will have to depend on the private sector for the bulk of its support.

I say this because of two facts: First, five out of every six jobs are provided by the private sector of our economy.

And second, we will need an average of two million new jobs each year — in addition to those that become available through retirement, disability or death — if we are to bring the unemployment rate to over 4.7% by 1980, or 4% by 1985.

Can we reach that goal?

Those who predict employment trends indicate that we can — and those who live with the social problems of unemployment know that we must.

Substantial employment increases are anticipated in the construction industry in financial, insurance and real estate institutions, and in government employment, particularly at the state and local level. Healthy advances are projected in businesses that provide services, as well in manufacturing. The employment trend in transportation and utilities, in retail and wholesale trade and in mining is expected to move higher.

William Ellinghaus

The only area where a decline is predicted is in farm employment demands of the future.

We must keep one objective firmly in mind, and that is that any employment opportunities that come will be available to all americans.

Here, too, I am optimistic.

I feel that we are approaching with certainty the truth embodied in the words expressed nearly a century ago by Herbert Spencer. This is what he said:

"No one can be perfectly free till all are free ... no one can be perfectly happy till all are happy."

To be feee, to be happy, is to be employed in a job that provides dignity and decency.

I know that that is among the primary goals of the National Urban League. And to the extent that I can contribute, you have my pledge that I will.

Mr. Eklund: Now it is my pleasure to introduce today's representative of the business community, Bill Ellinghaus. Mr. Ellinghaus is a man who has proven his ability to tackle big jobs, solve tough problems, achieve significant results against overwhelming odds.

He joined the Bell System as a lowly installer in 1940, and thirty years later, he was President of the New York Telephone Company. On April 1st of this year, Bill Ellinghaus moved up to the parent company, AT&T as Vice Chairman of the Board.

Just yesterday, as reported in the news today, a Federal Judge put these words on record. Bill, they must be a satisfaction to you, they were these: "AT&T stands as a monument to capitalistic success."

In addition to his most successful Bell System career, Bill Ellinghaus has a record of community service and leadership, the quantity and quality of which would be itself be impressive as a fulltime career.

In New York City, he is Director of the United Fund, the Economic Development Council, the Regional Plan Association, and the Mayor's Management Advisory Board. He is Vice Chairman of the Chamber of Commerce. He's on the steering committees of both the National Urban Coalition and the National Alliance of Businessmen. Of course, who does not know that Bill Ellinghaus has continously been in the forefront of the struggle for the survival of New York City, including Chairmanship of Big Mac and member of the state's involved Financial Control Board.

Somehow he finds time to serve as a Director of ten prestigious corporations, and on the boards of three universities, in addition to that of AT&T. His interests continue active in Boy Scouting, in the Red Cross and a host of other good causes. It would take me thirty minutes to recite them. Not the least of his admirabale accomplishments relate to the fact that he is the father of two daughters and six sons.

Certainly Bill Ellinghaus is a first rate citizen, with great pride and pleasure, I have the honor to present to this distinguished audience a remarkable man. One who stands as a great credit to the business community. Ladies and gentlemen, Vice Chariman of AT&T, Bill Ellinghaus.

Mr. Ellinghaus: I know you're wondering when I go to work. Thank you Coy for those kind words of introduction. Thank all of you for your generous welcome.

Secretary Usery, President McGannon, friend Vernon Jordan, distinguished guests and ladies and gentlemen. It's an honor and a pleasure for me to be participating in this proceeding of such a distinguished organization and to share the podium with Bill Usery.

As you have heard, before moving up to his present job, Bill labored on our behalf as a federal mediator, giving us all a chance to appreciate his considerable talents, and broad understanding of labor relations. After hearing him today, I'm sure you understand why he is so highly regarded by both business and labor.

When I say I'm honored to be here, it is because I have grown to admire and respect the National Urban League. Not just for its many many accomplishments, but also for its great leadership.

It has been my special privilege to know your Executive Director, Vernon Jorday, for many years, and to work with him on a number of projects in recent years. So when he extended the invitation to your sixty-six Annual Meeting, I was only too happy to accept and particularly so, when he told me the meeting would be in Boston.

You see, in addition to having a great historical significance in this bicentennial year, Boston is also a very special place for the industry that I represent. It was in a small loft, just a few blocks from here, that the telephone was born, one hundred years ago this year. Last March, we commemorated the invention of the telephone at ceremonies in Boston that included a reenactment of the first transmission of intelligible speech. Not only did we use replicas of the original instruments, we even had the roles of Alexander Graham Bell and his assistant, Thomas Watson, played by descendents of those two men. Bell incidentally, was represented by his great, great, granddaughter. Watson was played by his great grandson. They played their roles to perfection. Except when the young lady who portrayed Bell said those historic words, "Mr. Watson, come here, I want you," Mr. Watson blushed.

I suppose by now nearly everyone knows the story of how Bell came to invent the telephone. But what a lot of people may not know is the Bell team included more than just Thomas Watson. Among them was a black man, Louis Howard Latimer, a young Boston engineer and draftsman. Mr. Latimer's work had come to the attnetion of Bell and he was commissioned to execute the drawings and help prepare the applications for some of Bell's many and various telephone patents.

A man of talent and skill, Latimer later worked for Thomas Edison, where he became an inventor in his own right. But his early association with Bell marks him as the first of many blacks and other minorities who have made significant contributions to the development of the telephone system.

Today of course, minorities constitute both an important and growing part of our industry. One reason why is because we are an urban oriented business. About a quarter of our investment is in the thirty largest cities in this country. We draw more than a third of our employees from those cities. With minorities making up an even larger portion of the big city population, it is of course, natural that you find more blacks, Spanish surnamed and other minorities in the business.

But like many other institutions in the country, we're also responding to the challenge of organizations like the National Urban League, to make equality of opportunity a reality for more Americans. There are many ways to measure progress in this regard. But the most valid it seems to me, is the testimony of those who actually see their opportunities enhanced as a result of our efforts.

A few years ago, some of the public opinion polls were saying those among us who had the most reason to be discouraged are actually more optimistic about their progress than many Americans.

We all know, however, that sense of optimism has been somewhat diminished by the outbreak of new problems. The most prominent being those confronting our large urban centers. Fiscal deficits, high unemployment, festering social problems, have hammered city after city in recent years, with my city, New York City, the most prominent example of a big city in trouble.

There the impact on the people has been staggering. Jobs have been lost, thousands of them; schools and libraries closed; social serviced curtailed; police and fire services consolidated; recreation services cut back; transit fare raised from thirty-five to fifty cents; new capital construction projects halted; and the city university, its budget cut by eighty seven million dollars, had to impose tuition charge, a change that only makes it more difficult for the disadvantaged of this city, of the cities to further their education.

These actions, of course, had to be taken, to provide a bottom line savings in dollars and cents, and to avoid bankruptcy and default. It is too late to ask whether those savings were worth the costs involved. All of us who were party to those hard decisions, recognized that to whatever extent the city's money problems impaired opportunities or destroyed reasonable expectations, to whatever extent they made the city less habitable, the human resources of the city were diminished.

The politicians, of course, have been cast as the villains in this piece. But actually all of us must share the blame. Too often the faults of the city can be traced as much to the indifference of all the people as to the failure of government.

Those of us in business, in particular, should have voiced our fears long befoe we did, because we knew whatever effects the cities had to ultimately affect, not only the firms that do business there, and the people who live there, but also those situated well beyond the city limits.

My personal experience in trying to help resolve the New York City fiscal crisis underscored in my mind, the knowledge that what happens in the centers of urban

life would in one way or another, eventually affect everyone.

One of the reasons I welcomed the decision by our federal government to rescue the city from default, was because I had become convinced the repercussions of bankruptcy would not have been confined to the three hundred and twenty square miles of New York City's five boroughs, but would reach out far beyond.

Those who seemed willing to shrug off the consequences of default last year did so, I believe, because they did not fully appreciate the dynamic role the cities play in this country.

Just the possibility of default, as you will recall, sent a shudder through the money markets and for some time, kept market conditions unsettled for corporate as well as municipal borrowers. All cities are now going to have a harder time borrowing the money they need to meet payrolls and to pay for municipal services.

Tragically, many of the danger signs had been evident in New York for a long time, but were either ignored or misread. Worse than that, however, was the tendency to substitute fiscal gimmickry and unsound policies for prudent management, and realistic planning when the going got tough. The rest, of course, is history.

Have we learned anything from the New York experience? I believe so. It forced us to take a hard look at our urban centers. I think we've begun to get a better understanding of what is happening in the city in terms of jobs, industry, taxes, housing, population and so on. Hopefully, from this, we will be better able to develop meaningful and realistic plans.

The crisis in New York taught us the importance of greater business involvement in the problems of the city. Traditionally, I'm sorry to say, there has been a distinct dividing line between board room and city hall. Even the new emphasis of corporated social responsibility did not comfortably encompass greater involvement in the functions of city government. That has changed. The *New York Times* called it "A new era of participation by outsiders in the management of city government."

But even as new roles are emerging, some of the traditional roles of business have not changed. In fact, there is a good deal more that we can do on our own in our own businesses to add to the city's vitality and growth. No business, of course, can do it alone, but we can do it together if each of us tends to and runs our own business as well as we know how.

However, I can't deny that those of us who operate really large businesses have a very special position of leadership. I said earlier one reason why my own business had an increasing number of minority employees is because we're urban centered, and that is true. I said earlier that another reason putting it politely, is the prodding we've gotten over the years from such dedicated organizations as yours and that is true. There is also the matter of laws with regard to employment. That really cannot be escaped. But there is another more basic reason why we in the telephone industry have a significantly more total minority employment and large numbers of minority managers in our business today. That reason is simply that we want it that way.

I can think of no member of the Bell System senior management team who would disagree with that statement. But I think the record speaks more eloquently to this point than my words, and let me risk abusing your hospitality by reciting a few facts from my own business. I must say not without a little pride.

Throughout AT&T and the twenty four telephone companies that make up the Bell System, there are today nearly one hundred and fifty thousand minority employees. They fill just about every kind of job in the business and they do so at increasingly higher levels or responsibility. In the last three years alone, the number of minority managers increased by more than five thousand, including more than one thousand in the upper management positions. Minorities have also made significant gains in contributions in our non-management jobs. The increase in minority craft employees in '72 has been three times as great as the increase in the total number of craft workers in the Bell System. These gains were achieved despite some rough times economically that required the Bell System to significantly reduce its total workforce, those reductions numbering in the thousands.

While providing jobs remains the primary way in which we in business can help, the support of minority businesses is another means by which organizations such as my own, can and must make a significant contribution. By giving minority business enterprises an opportunity to participate as suppliers and contractors, we're supporting their economic development and indirectly creating needed jobs.

I should say our commitment in this area is not entirely altruistic. More than most businesses, the telephone industry is dependent on a very strong and growing

economy. Clearly anything that adds to the strength of the entire economy has to benefit us as well.

As you may know, Western Electric, our manufacturing and supply arm, has received national recognition for its minority business enterprise program. During '75, Western Electric purchased more than thirty four million dollars worth of goods and services from some eight hundred minority owned businesses.

But I think more important than that is the fact Western Electric is convinced they have just begun to scratch the surface as far as use of minority owned businesses as suppliers of goods and services is concerned. When you consider that 1975 was a very poor year economically for Western Electric, and consider the thirty four million dollars worth of purchases from eight hundred minority owned businesses, you get some idea what the future may hold.

Another of our associated companies, Illinois Bell, has had nearly a three-fold increase in its minority business program since'73. Among the minority businesses that have been successful bidders on telephone industry business, are advertising agencies, banks, insurance companies, fuel oil suppliers, data processing firms and consumer research organizations. So I would say there seems to be no limit to the possibilities in this area.

Where we go from here, however, obviously, depends, to a large extent, on economic factors. The strong growth the Bell System has experienced in recent months will ultimately result in more jobs and more businesses for those who are our suppliers. But the future contributions of business to the solution of the problems that you've been talking about at this Conference are also dependent, it seems to me, on commitment to a goal I would like to share with you.

I am convinced that both the national minority and business interests can best be served by an effort to achieve economic equality for minority citizens. To my mind, that is the only true answer to the lingering and persistent discrimination that is still with us. I know we have more to do on this score in my own business, but together with other businesses, we can help provide the kind of economic independence that I hold will eventually eliminate discrimination. Speaking as the Vice Chairman of the nation's largest employer, I can and do commit our business to furthering this goal of economic independence for minority citizens.

I can't leave this subject, however, without pointing out to you that business goals and business actions are inextricably tied to questions of national policy. The Bell System's hiring and promotional policies, for example, are monitored by elaborate affirmative action machinery that has been set up in accordance with the objectives jointly established with the Departments of Labor and Justice and the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. We do have a continuing dialogue concerning the details of these plans with these agencies.

A serious concern however, is that as the process of implementing affirmative action targets becomes more complex, we may lose sight of our real objective, important as those programs might be. It is not affirmative action, as important as that may be, as an interim goal. Our real objective, and one we share with all of the institutions of our society, is the ultimate realization of equal opportunity for all Americans. Unfortunately, there is no way that kind of objective can be put on a timetable or written into the language of a consent decree which covers all of society. Yet we continue to subject more and more of our basic goals and objectives to often inflexible rules or decrees and regulations. As evidence of the proliferation of policy, one only has to look at the Federal Register, which each year publishes all the new laws and bureaucractic decisions. It now takes sixty thousand plus pages to catalogue the workings of our federal government. Some of the best minds in the country, including many in government itself, are beginning to question whether the growing amount of public policy-making is really in the public interest.

There is particular concern that in the pursuit of economic fators, we may be paying too high a price in terms of lost freedoms, higher taxes and higher prices for the consumer.

A series of decisions by the Federal Communications Commission, for example, has created a situation in the telecommunications industry whereby the pocketbooks of the typical home telephone user could be hard hit. What has happened is federal regulators, believing competition will somehow improve what is already the world's finest communications system, has changed the ground rules under which communication service can be provided.

They have allowed others to begin providing service in competition with the

Telephone Company, a noble goal, it would seem. But whereas the telephone companies are required to serve everyone, everywhere, these newcomers can pick and choose where they will offer service. Naturally, they pick the most profitable, easiest to serve routes leaving the unprofitable to the industry who must by law serve all. By doing so, they are able to underprice the Telephone companies whose rates must reflect the cost of serving everyone, the unprofitable as well as the profitable.

Now the FCC wants to change the rules even more, so that everyone can sell communications equipment. It can be connected to the telephone network without any real assurance that it will work properly, be maintained adequately and not have an adverse effect on your telephone service.

Who will benefit from these changes? Mostly the entrepreneurs and the large business concerns. They will very definitely. The average telephone user, including the small businessman, and the residence customer, may well end up paying more for lower quality services. The reason is simple, for years, the telephone companies were able to assure the widest availability of service, because the cost of the basic service was kept low. We accomplished that by using revenues from long distance calls, business services and option such as extensions, trimline telephones to cover and support the cost of local service.

We also average costs on long distance routes so everyone pays the same, when calling the same distance. Regardless of whether they live in densely populated areas, where costs are low, or in remote, hard to serve rural communities where costs are high. The value of this type of pricing policy is evident from the fact that 95% of American housefolds have telephone service, almost twice the availability of service in other countries.

But what do you think will happen to the telephones in many households, especially those in low or fixed income, if rates are forced to climb because competition reduces the revenue available to support those low basic rates? That prospect is what is bothering people like FCC Commissioner, Benjamin Hooks. Noting that some of the early decisions to inject more competition in the telephone business has been hailed as a victory for consumers, Commissioners Hooks said,"There are now growing indications that the victory was a loser, and that in the end, the individual consumer will get it in the neck again." Fortunately, the consumer, in this case, has a growing number of champions. More than one hundred fifty congressmen, including representatives like Barbara Jordan, Charles Diggs have joined in sponsoring legislation, first introduced in the House and later in the Senate by Senator Vance Hartke, that would reaffirm the basic goal of universal service, a telephone in every home, and at rates all can afford. That has been the hallmark of our communications system in this country.

This legislation, which is entitled The Consumers communications Reform Act seeks to protect consumers from preventing wasteful duplication of interstate services, as well as unnecessarily higher rates for home telephone users and the impairment of high quality service that customers have come to expect.

No one can predict what Congress will ultimately decide in this matter, if it decides at all. We would naturally like to see a clearer definition of what is expected of the industry, even though we may not totally agree when that definition comes. But at least it would resolve some of the uncertainties that currently confront our business and it will give you a voice in what you want your communications system to be in the future.

In that respect, I'm quite sure we are not alone. A great many people these days are looking for a resolution of the uncertainties that have resulted from policies that confuse, rather than clarify, and from decisions that seem to benefit a few at the expense of many. All things considered, it is little wonder so many are so lacking in confidence in the institutions of our society. We need to change that outlook, we need to get more people involved in the decision-making process so they understand and feel a part of those decisions. We need to arrive at better understanding of who is affected by the decisions being made daily in both the public and private sectors. We need a better understanding of our respective roles and a greater appreciation of what is involved in the achievement of common objectives including where to give and take must occur. But most of all, we need to have faith in our ability to achieve social and economic goals.

This country was built on that kind of faith. I would hope as we begin our Third Century, we'll see a renewal of that faith.

When he died in Warm Springs, Georgia, in 1945, Franklin Roosevelt was work-

ing on a speech, a fragment of which still exists. It reads, "The only limit to our realization of tomorrow is our doubts of today. I am confident that working together, we have the ability to realize the goals we have set for ourselves as a people and as a nation." I sincerely hope that is a confidence that all of you share with me. Thank you for inviting me to be with you today.

Mr. Ekland: Well, the program says next and finally, announcements and remarks, Mahlon Puryear. As you know, he has been for many years a devoted servant of National Urban League, and in more recent years, has been the Director of the Economic Development Department of the National Urban League, and therefore, he has worked very closely with us in the Commerce and Industry Council. He now concludes that particualr assignment and takes on a new role in the important interests of the National Urban League.

Mr. Puryear: I want to do something I have never had a chance to do before. I have travelled this country from north to south and east and west. But this is the first time that in the audience is my sweetheart and wife of forty years. I'm going to ask her to stand because you ought to know who it is who keeps me straight.

I suppose Mr. Usery and Mr. Ellinghaus, because you too represent two of the nations largest employers, I want to give you another way to express yourself and to bring this message.

If you put in one pile all of the problems black Americans and other non-white Americans have faced, as they have tried to be a part of this country. If you put the problems of slavery, the problems of jobs, the problems of housing, the problems of social responsibility in just trying to be somebody. If you look at those problems, they'd start out a dune, then a hill and lo, at the end of two hundred years, there's a mountain.

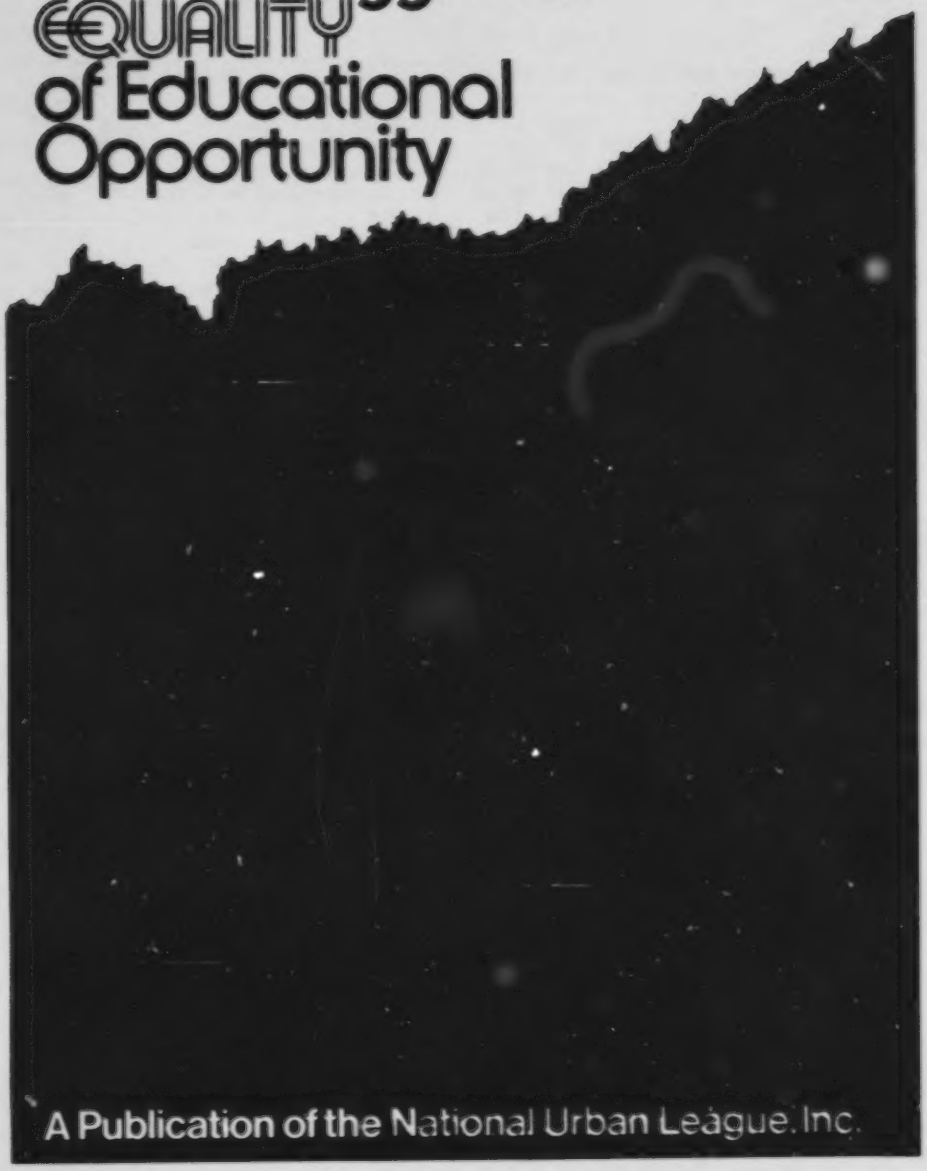
If you could harness the tears that have been shed by parents as they've had their children snatched from their bosoms and sold into slavery. If you could harness the tears parents have shed as they have educated their children, only to find the education was insufficient to perform. If you could harness the tears parents have shed as they've had the money in their hands to buy a house, and only be told you cannot live in the community, those tears would form a brook, a creek and a river. What I'm asking you, my friends in business, labor and industry, is to help us climb that mountain, to ford that stream, to follow any rainbow until we find a dream.

It is a dream that needs all the love you can give, every day of your lives for as long as you live. We've got to climb the mountain, and ford the stream because on the top of that mountain is the site of the Third Century. On the top of that mountain, we will see the green valley. The valley that says to mothers, you can now work because there's a day care center that will take your baby at seven so you can get to work by eight. An education program that is designed to train, not to mistrain. But more than that, as a dreamer of dreams, and because this is my country, and because we are delighted to have two daughters and two grandchildren.

I do not want my grandchildren to wonder what the Third Century will be. But that I can tell them to fulfill these rights means the new Bill of Rights will spell this country out so those of us who were born here will have a new interpretation and understanding of what it's all about. Dream awhile, dream along with me. You've only awhile to dream. Thank you so very much.

Black Perspectives on the Bicentennial

The Struggle for EQUALITY of Educational Opportunity



A Publication of the National Urban League, Inc.

Tuesday, August 3, 1976 — 2:00 p.m.

"The Right To Education"

Presiding:

Daniel A. Collins, NUL Trustee; President, Division of Urban Education, Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc.

Guest Speaker:

Edythe J. Gaines, Superintendent of Schools, Board of Education, Hartford

Dr. Collins: We are fortunate to have with us an unusual individual. She started out as a teacher in a Junior High School, then became a curriculum coordinator. She next moved to assistant principal and principal. Her next post was as a community superintendent. Eventually she became Executive Director for Educational Planning, New York City Public Schools, and today she is Superintendent of Schools in Hartford, Conn.

She is of course, eminently qualified with degrees from Hunter College, New York University, and a doctor of education from Harvard University. I could continue to read her board membership, advisory committee memberships, and so forth. They would only be gilding the lily. I think that after she speaks, you will understand why she was asked to be our guest. Dr. Edythe Gaines.

Dr. Gaines: Thank you very much Dr. Collins. We are here to talk about a new Bill of Rights, "The Right to Education." In this Bicentennial year, the National Urban League is gathered here on the freedom trail within hearing distance of the place where was fired, the shot heard round the world. We are in buildings and near buildings that still echo very gently, very faintly to the vibrating of horses hoofs and the sounds of Paul Revere's ride on that fateful night. We're in close proximity to the spot on which the Boston Massacre occurred, where the patriot Crispus Attucks, a black brother fell spilling the first blood in the struggle for American independence.

We are here in Boston, but let us also not forget we are also here, cheek by jowl with some of the most blatantly racist attacks on children and youth in the pursuit of a decent public education that recent history has recorded. That's also Boston. We are in the shadows of decision-making institutions, at the city and state level which through daily action, also deliberate inaction, defy the fundamental laws of the land and call into question the most honored principles on which this nation was founded. That also is here in Boston.

Yes, the National Urban League is here in Boston to respond creatively both to the promises of the past and the challenges of the future by bringing forth a new Bill of Rights as part of the continuing and unfinished American revolution and in celebration of the rights of man. I think it is fitting that we should be here in Boston. There is no place in this country more symbolically correct than the city of Boston to address the issues and concerns set forth by this 66th Annual Conference.

There is no place in this country where the gap between promise and fulfillment is brought more sharply into focus than here in Boston. The Urban League belongs in Boston and now that we are here, why don't we show it together like we used to. Now ain't you glad. I am. I remember all the controversy about should we or should we not come to Boston. I think there is no better place for us to be, up south in Boston.

Let us be reminded however of the significance of the original Bill of Rights and of the relationship of our present task to that historical experience. When the writers of the Constitution had completed their prodigious effort constructing a government characterized by intricate checked and balanced powers among three branches of gov-

109

Daniel A. Collins

ernment, they realized something was missing. That mathematically pure and architecturally neat government structure would fall like a house of cards if one building stone were not laid in place. That keystone was establishment of rights of individual human beings, standing supreme above the rights of the governmental institutions.

Thus the writers of the Constitution determined they could not and would not adopt the Constitution, without, at the same time adopting a Bill of Rights which set forth the primal rights of men as these are set against the secondary rights of man made instrumentalities of government.

Let's not forget that as we think about designing a new Bill of Rights. We too must set the primal rights of individual human beings above the secondary rights of man-made institutions of government. It is the Urban League's profound commitment to the rights of individual human beings to a life of honor, dignity, economic well being, and spiritual strengths that brings us here today and that defines at the fundament, the task we are about.

So, we gather here in Boston to devise, discuss, adopt, and proclaim a new Bill of Rights. A Bill of Rights that speaks to the imperatives of the urban condition in the last quarter of the 20th Century. A Bill of Rights that addresses whole men and women and not three-fifths of such persons as did the original one. A Bill of Rights that deals with the realities of our situation and offers not merely rhetoric but programs. We gather to talk about a Bill of Rights in education.

It is utterly fitting and right that one of the major sessions of this Conference be on education. One of the myths of this country is that black people somehow do not treasure education. It's like the Nazi big lie. People tell it in the hope I suppose, that if they tell it long enough and loud enough and raucous enough, people will believe it. But you and I know the very opposite is the case. If anything, black people have cared too much about education. We have believed it was going to bring us everything. We have fought for it, died for it, struggled for it, and built institutions for it.

In fact, there are two institutions that black people have built in this country more than anything else. What are they? We have built schools and we've built churches. The black college development is eloquent testimony to that fact. It is contrary to the black experience that we have children or have children that appear not to care about education. It is contrary to black experience that education is not exalted. It is contrary to the black experience, not in consonance with it, that somehow we seem to be neglectful of education. There should be at the center of concern, a Bill of Rights in education. If we don't get it together, here in Boston, then we had better get it together wherever we go from here because we've got to get it together. We've always believed it could make us free, we still believe it can make us free. We still believe it is the route our children must travel in order to become the over-qualified people that you still have to be in this country.

When Dr. Collins began to read my resume and we were talking about it in the back, he said, "Gee, you've done a lot of things over these 34 years." I said "yes, that's true." Women have to pay more dues than men. Black men have to pay more dues than white men. We still have to be over-qualified before we can make any progress. Education is something we have got to be about. I'm going to list a few of the planks I feel should be in any Bill of Rights that comes out of this Conference.

Of course first, I'm going to use the slogan phrase, but sometimes those trite phrases have to be used because they represent the collective wisdom of the race. We must have a right to equal educational opportunity. This means among other things, we must have the right to be educated side by side with other Americans, not because we learn by osmosis, but because we know in our hearts and souls, equal education opportunity will not be provided as long as we are separated out. When people separate you out, they separate you out because they intend to give you differential treatment. We've had a lifetime of history on that matter. Do we need to be told it again? So we continue to stand for the integrated education. Where it is available we will work for it. But where it is not available we will continue to work for it and in the meantime put our bucket down where it is and see to it that children, wherever they are located, get quality education in that place.

Most of you know because most of you shared in the experience. You know we worked very hard to get the 1954 decision. But you know too, that in the northern urban centers, school districts today are more segregated than they were in 1954. I went to a conference recently of urban school districts. The only integrated school district at that conference, would you believe it, was Little Rock, Arkansas. With kids being brought to school with guns and here we are more than 20 years later and those

schools that were integrated in 1954 are now segregated school districts, as is the one I head.

So we will continue to work for integrated education, we will continue to work for city-suburban cooperation. Not out of muling, pulling, wishing and pleading but out of mutual self-interest. The suburbs must learn that they are parasites on the cities. That if the cities fall, they will fall shortly thereafter. Westport, Conn. would not exist in its golden splendor if there were not New York City. The suburbs around Hartford, Conn. would not exist, if there were not Hartford. So we ought to have city-suburban cooperation; not out of a muling, pulling, wishing, pleading thing, but a relationship so we work for integrated education. But in the meantime, for the children that are in our racially isolated schools we must see to it that they get quality schooling and quality results from that schooling.

Edythe J. Gaines

Another component of equal education opportunity is school finance. We have in this country, something approaching obscenity in the area of school finance. I came into a district that was under deficit financing last year, and received a million dollars less this year. That's the story all over the country. It is true where you come from; less and less money, more and more demands. Less and less equitability. Even when we take them to court and win, we lose.

Look at the state of New Jersey. Look at the spectacle of them closing their schools because they refuse to do what the court ordered them to do, to equitably finance their schools. I am in the state of Connecticut. It is, I believe, the second or third richest state in the nation in terms of per capita income. However it ranked dead last, 50 out of 50 states in its support of its urban public schools. It lost the court case, but we have not gotten one penny of equitable funding out of that court decision. We need equal educational opportunity with respect to educational finance.

We need quality educators in our schools. You know and I know, there is declining enrollment, not necessarily declining enrollment in black schools, however. Our experience is the opposite. We are having rising enrollment in our black schools although we are having declining enrollments generally. But certainly if we are now going to have the opportunity to stop dealing with the question of quantity that we had to deal with all through the sixties, certainly we ought now deal creatively with the questions of quality. We need to develop those quality educators in our schools and begin to both measure them (schools) along those quality educators and provide those resources by which those quality educators can come to full fruition.

We need as a component of equal educational opportunity, access to non-school educational opportunity. One of the things I think black people put too much store in, and I'm a school person, is in the things that happen within the school walls. When you and I know that much of the education that is valuable is going to happen outside the school walls. Why aren't our children at the concerts? Why aren't they at the ballet? Why aren't they taking the trips abroad? Why aren't they getting those broadening experiences, access to those educational opportunities outside of schools? Why aren't we demanding them as a component of equal educational opportunity?

Another component of equal educational opportunity is ending the failure syndrome that besets the urban public schools. There is both a direct and indirect destructive aspect to that. It is the indirect one that I feel is the more insidious. We can see the direct effect of the failure syndrome. Yes, we see children functionally illiterate at 16, 17 and 18 years of age. That we can see and understand. But what about the indirect effect. The first and most important among them I think is the notion that everything about public education is a failure. In some insidious way we legitimatize that failure.

I had a friend who became superintendent of schools of a large urban center and as he was arriving there, someone said when he goes in such and such city he can't fail, because if he fails everyone expects it, and if he succeeds, he'll have it made. Everybody expects failure. We expect it so much, we have in some strange way made it legitimate.

The second insidious by-product is that people have really begun to develop a vested interest in our children's failure. Whole industries are built upon the expectations of that failure. Whole industries of remediation. If we didn't fail the kids somebody would see to it that we did. We've really developed a vested interest in our children's failure.

I think another component of equal educational opportunity is the necessity for building alliances with the other people who live in the central cities. I think we have been strategically wrong in going into our own ethnic bag and trying to work out our own destiny in competition with the other people who are also victimized in the cities. Let's remember that the people in the cities along with the black people are the elderly,

111

many of them elderly whites; the white ethnics, many of whom are excluded from suburbs, too; the Puerto Ricans and other hispanics; and the blacks. We have got to make viable alliances with those groups and organize against the common foe who is outside the boundaries of the city in many cases and inside in top positions of power in too many other cases.

I go to the second right I feel should be on any bill of particulars in a new Bill of Rights in Education. We should require an educational environment in and around schools that supports growth and development of human beings in a nurturing environment. But what I mean is a safe and secure environment. You and I know that so much of what happens in our schools, dragged in from the streets, makes the schools less than a safe and secure environment. We need young people who understand that self-control, self-discipline is the first step toward any other learning.

Again, I say it is contrary to the black experience, contrary to the public myth, of somehow it is okay for black kids to be misbehaving. There are no families stricter with their children than black families. Our children don't carry their home behavior into schools. They carry street behavior into school. If we could finally connect up the homes with the schools, teachers would understand that the support of black parents would be there to help and see that their children are behaving in school. I've seen youngsters doing things in school that their parents would almost literally kill them for, if they saw them do it. If you stop a kid in the hall and ask him what are you doing, or what would your mother do if she saw you, he knows the answer. "She would kill me." Why do we tolerate the translation into the school environment of street behavior?

We need an improved organizational climate, one that nurtures growth and development. We need in that connection, the fostering of self-worth, that sense of, I am somebody. I do not for a minute believe schools can continue to be or can be nurturing environments if the teachers and parents are separated from each other. I believe the teachers must understand because they're imbedded in the community, what our young people are about and what their families are about. I do not say that every teacher has to be of the same ethnic group as the children. I do know, we have to have significant numbers of role models in schools to make a difference.

I'm going to skip to another one. We need as a basic right, a right to basic literacy and numeracy, early on. I am sick of seeing basic reading taught in kindergarten, first grade, second grade, third grade, fourth grade and we are now teaching it in college. When are we going to get to something else if we keep doing reading as a basic skill all through the grades. Why is it necessary? Why all of a sudden? Why all of a sudden, are black kids unable to master language? There is no people more language oriented in the world, than black people. You go to a party, what do you see black people doing? They dance and talk. They are going to yakety-yak at the mouth.

Where does the language get enriched? The English language gets enriched almost exclusively out of the black idiom. Yet all of a sudden, our children go to school and they're bereft of language, can't speak, can't write, they have no understanding. What is this? Yet I see examples. Those examples ought to be made nationally visible and we should learn from them. I see examples of children, in kindergarten, in all black schools, thoroughly able to read and write everything they can understand. Having learned it, not by rote, but by the abstract mental processes that are the only ones that will make it possible for you to continue to learn throughout life. If we can do that in P.S. 133, Bronx, the school that I organized, and invariably, the kids in that school score above the national average, and they are all black and Puerto Rican, why can't that be the national situation? Where is the gap? Where is the breakdown? There is nothing special about those children, except that they come from the special background of the rich language heritage that black people came with out of their African tradition which has a strong oral tradition as you know.

Numeracy. Good Lord, we see our children practicing calculus at age five. They may be the only children in the world that practice calculus at age five. You see those children standing watching a train go by and they are trying to aim at a particular window and hit that window as it goes by. That's calculus baby. They've been doing calculus out of the playing fields.

Why can't our teachers heighten their awareness of that and make it acceptable to them in ways in which they can show it on these examinations of which you speak. I want as a Bill of Rights platform, basic literacy and numeracy. Early on and not wait. Throughout the grades you are doing nothing but literacy and numeracy, remembering that reading and writing are not an education. They are pre-requisite skills for an

education. If you keep working at the pre-requisite skills, when are you going to get to the education?

We should have in our Bill of Rights, the right to a school program with a rich curriculum. Urban schools are being reduced to pre-nineteen century types of schools. Go into our schools today — compare what you used to see in the 60's when federal monies were coming in. Almost gone are the arts. How many school districts do you find saying the arts (music and dance, etc.) are frills and we have to "get back to the basics." Our children are sitting there with dreary workbooks while the arts are going, almost gone. How many schools really have a rich program in literature, poetry, in all the literary forms? What happened to all those budding courses in philosophy? What happened to those budding courses in ethics and logic? Almost gone are the problem solving studies of government and political science, we used to see. What's happened to internships in city government? I see them disappearing and I see the children once again back at the seats doing busy work.

Almost gone are the efforts of the 60's to provide new social sciences in the curriculum. Anthropology began to creep in. Urban sociology began to creep in. Social psychology began to creep into our secondary school curriculum. How many of you still have those in your secondary school curriculum. Or do you see them almost gone? So too almost gone are the really exciting extra curricula programs. How many of you have had your physical activities program cut back? After school games, magazine endeavors, radio and TV production; all the things that made school liveable, exciting and thrilling.

Little by little impoverished urban school systems are providing an impoverished curriculum to impoverished children, victimized by an impoverished outside environment. We owe them much more than that. Little by little the goodies are disappearing and we are seeing our children tied to the desk, workbook, busy work, the non-education.

I have next on my plank the right to choice but also the right to a firm foundation that is both broad and deep. I know those two things sound contradictory. I don't mean them to be. I do believe there is an appropriate place for choice, choice as to learning objective. We are not all going the same road to the same destination. Choice as to learning style. Not all of us learn the same things in the same ways. Choice as to learning environment. Some of us learn certain things in a carrel that has radio and TV, because many of us do it better with the abstractions of the verbal way. I do believe we ought to have a choice. But I'm really concerned about the negative out-put of some of the choices we've made available.

Through the so-called elective system and through an abdication of our counseling responsibilities we are permitting our young people to choose a poor education for themselves. I don't want to overstress the point, but you can go into high schools and find youngsters doing their selecting through the catalogue, and coming up with a curriculum that is basket weaving I, basket weaving II, and out you go. They have not received a decent education. I want a balance between choice and a certainty, that certain fundamental, core curriculum of great depth and breadth have been made available and insisted upon for our young people. That makes me an old fashioned conservative, I suppose, but I'll live with those words.

We need the right to a high school diploma that has some meaning. Once upon a time we struggled to get our young people to graduate. We began to get investigated because lots of them were not graduating. We began to protect ourselves by putting on the cover some stuff and calling it a single diploma. We sort of gave you credit for sitting there with a warm body for four years. At the end of the four years, you had a piece of paper but it couldn't get you anywhere. It had no meaning.

I'm really talking about some established standards. Some evidence of achievement of levels of attainment, so that you move from this ability to the next and prove it along the way. I know the state of the art is insufficient to do what needs to be done in that regard at this stage of the game, but you don't improve the state of the art by ignoring the issue. You begin.

I think we need to begin to establish ways by which we can see what the standards ought to be; ways how we can find check points along the way, so our young people can discover what they have gained and what they have yet to gain. Then let the ultimate diploma say, I stand here before you with a piece of paper that guarantees to you that I know something. Among them is reading, writing, arithmetic, ability to communicate, but also some understanding of the social political and economic environment.

[THE EDITORS REGRET THAT BECAUSE OF A MECHANICAL FAILURE, FIVE MINUTES OF DR. GAINES' PRESENTATION WAS LOST.]

By and large the basic policies are coming from some place else. They are coming from legislatures. Almost everything we are getting in special education is coming from the legislature. They are coming out of court decisions and they care coming out of faculty agreements across the negotiating table. I don't know that those are the three most powerful places for educational policy to be determined.

Until and unless our Boards of Education can deal with the policy issues, I think we are going to have a crisis at that level. The sad thing about it is, that the men and women who serve on those boards are hard working. They put in numberless hours, they are unpaid, but where is the technical assistance to assist them in doing the job they do or they intend to do. I believe we have a right to high quality, top notch leadership at the board and superintendancy levels. There are probably other things that should be in this Bill of Rights, but I shall leave them at that. I want to remind you, however, that in the cities is where a determination of what we are going to be like as a nation will be made. If this country cannot make its cities function, then I think this country is in deep trouble.

I'm sorry the time has passed but I really want to mention these other two. I think we need a right to decent educational research that shows solutions, not merely further explication of the problem. I want to get that one in because I see a friend here from The National Institute for Education and I want to be sure NIE knows I consider that a part of a Bill of Rights. We ought to have much better educational research. Most of the educational research tells us more about the problem, and I would like some research to tell us about the solutions.

I do want to mention also a right to support and suffer for those things in urban education that are going right. There are good urban public schools. You hear too little about them. When you are working on one of those schools and when you are producing positive results, it is extremely discouraging to see nothing on the television sets, and nothing on the radios and nothing in the newspapers except that everything that you are related to is a failure.

I think the Urban League can do something along with some other organizations that would be unique and marvelous. They ought to establish and support and identify a quality schools network. I would hope that would be one of the things that would come out of the effort. I will return to the ending of my remarks by saying it is indeed in the urban centers that this country is going to show what it is made of. We will either prove that we mean what we say as a nation, or we will go down.

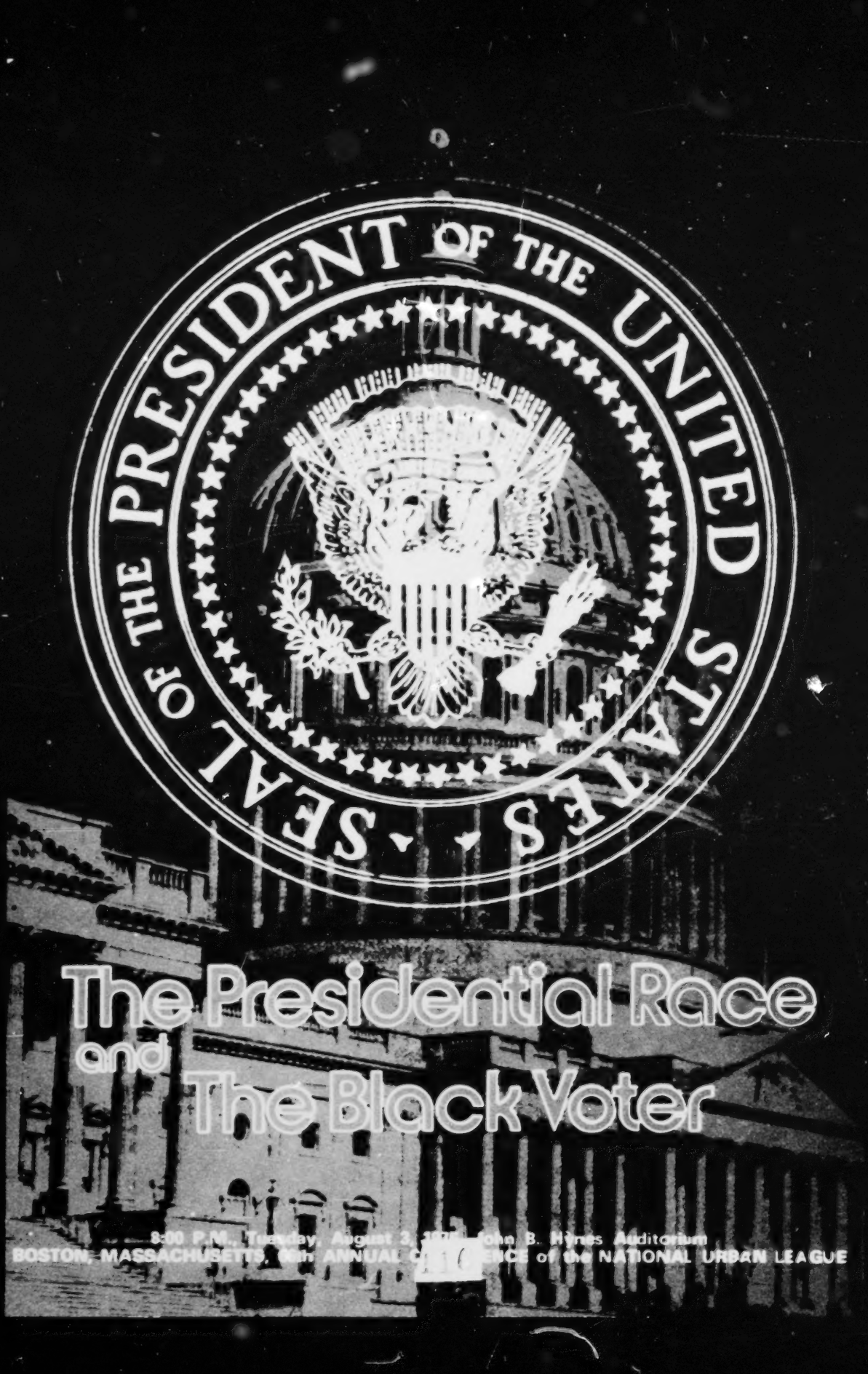
The cities have always been the place of ingress, the place for the upwardly mobile, the place for those who are coming with hope and moving on to other places. It is no accident that the Emma Lazarus poem is at the base of the Statue of Liberty at a port of entry, saying, "Give me your tired, your poor your huddled masses yearning to breathe free, the wretched refuse of your teeming shores, give these, the homeless, tempest-tossed to me. I lift my lamp beside the golden door." It is our cities that hold the lamp high. It is the public schools in the cities that are charged with making good on the promises behind that golden door.

The Urban League uniquely among organizations is dedicated and devoted to making good on the promises of the nation's cities. As Urban Leaguers, you as individuals, bear that special and almost holy responsibility. As such you must both ring and respond to your own clarion call to today's need for service in the cities. It is in that knowledge that I make bold to say to you, "Go forth from this place renewed in your belief in education as a vital variable in determining the life style options in minority children. Go forth from this place reassured about our insistence on quality integrated education.

Go forth from this place determined to see the present generation of children are not lost. Go forth from this place absolutely rededicated to the proposition that public education of high quality, accessible to all children, of all races, creeds and colors is available and right for all American youth. Go forth from this place determined that black children will understand their heritage and know their heritage encompasses devotion to education, devotion to self-development, devotion to self-health, devotion to self-development. Go forth from this place determined to nail on the walls of whatever institution you work in, a Bill of Rights for education for America's children."

Thank you very much.

115


SEAL OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES
The Presidential Race
and
The Black Voter
8:00 P.M., Tuesday, August 2, 1976 John B. Hynes Auditorium
BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS XVII ANNUAL CONFERENCE of the NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE

Tuesday, August 3, 1976 — 8:00 p.m.

The Presidential Race And the Black Voter

Greetings:

The Honorable Edward W. Brooke, Senator, Commonwealth of Massachusetts

Moderator

Chuck Stone, Columnist, Philadelphia Daily News

Participants:
The Honorable Yvonne Braithwaite Burke, 28th District, California, House of Representatives, Congress of the United States

Arthur A. Fletcher, Deputy Assistant to the President for Urban Affairs

The Honorable Hubert H. Humphrey, United States Senator, State of Minnesota

The Honorable Charles McC. Mathias, United States Senator, State of Maryland

Journalists:

Lovell Dyett, Operations Manager, WBZ-TV, Boston

Robert L. Healy, Executive Editor, Boston Globe

Mal Johnson, Director of Community Affairs and Senior Washington Correspondent, Cox Broadcasting Corp.

Mr. McGannon: Prior to presenting The Presidential Race and the Black Voters, I have the great honor of introducing to you a friend and outstanding public servant whose record has been extolled throughout the breadth of this land. Edward W. Brooke, Senator from the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

Senator Brooke: It is indeed an honor and a privilege to be with you tonight. And I want you to know how pleased I am that you were able to come to Boston. Hosting the Urban League Convention at this time is extremely important to the City of Boston. On behalf of all of us, I welcome you and express our appreciation.

I have always believed that political power is the best hope for black Americans. And thus I was particularly pleased that my able and articulate House colleague from Texas, Barbara Jordan, keynoted the National Democratic Convention and that my distinguished House colleague from Georgia, Andy Young, gave the nomination speech for Governor Jimmy Carter.

But what I really would rather see is a black man or black woman at a National Convention giving his or her acceptance speech.

Quite frankly, I was disappointed in the primary campaigns of all the presidential candidates. Ignored were the vital issues affecting our nation. Instead, we were treated to absurd debates over such issues as who is more or less committed to symbolic metropolitan integration. The outcry "ethnic purity" and "ethnic preservation" simply highlighted the fact that none of the candidates were ready to take an unequivocal stand on affirmative steps to achieve equal rights and equal opportunity.

I would hope that in the general election we would demand that the candidates address themselves to the real issues before our country. Let them stand up and be counted on the tough specific policy proposals to deal with the immediate needs of our people: jobs, health, a useful education, security and the rebuilding of our cities.

No one can say that we have not had a measure of political success. But we must see our achievements in this political year for exactly no more and no less than what they are: symbolic victories which demonstrate potential gains.

We must recognize the harsh political facts which tell us that we have far to go and much to do. At the Democratic Convention, the party which represents most politically active black Americans, black delegates were only 9% of the convention. And that 9% is far less than the 15% black Democrats had in their 1972 convention. And at my party's convention in Kansas City next week, there will be seventy four black Republican delegates, a shameful 4% of the convention total.

But blacks do have the potential to wield political power. Indeed a Harris Poll taken earlier this summer showed that blacks could give their favorite presidential candidate the one or two percentage points needed to win the presidency.

But first and foremost we must get our people to the polls. For the dismal fact is that only 55% of eligible blacks are registered to vote. Thus, almost five million two hundred thousand blacks who are eligible to vote, but who fail to register, could not vote, even if they were motivated by their concern over issues and candidates.

117

Edward W. Brooke

And, instead of an increase in black Americans seeking the opportunity to vote, our registration rates in 1974 were at the lowest reported for any of the last five general elections.

And the tragic fact is that even those blacks who are registered to vote still do not bother to vote. Only one-third of the black American electorate voted in the 1974 congressional elections. This turnout was ten percentage points **lower** than the 1970 congressional election, and eighteen percentage points **lower** than the 1972 presidential election.

The popular mythology of the last decade was that insurmountable obstacles caused blacks in the South not to participate in elections. But the shocking truth is that the decline in voter participation has been sharpest here in the North and in the West.

Perhaps alienation from the political processes of those who live on the fringes of our society is comprehensible, however much we deplore it. But what is incomprehensible is an attitude which disparages political activity among many accomplished, affluent and aware blacks. They do not vote and they do not share their expertise, energies, and money on behalf of black candidates. And they refuse to stand themselves as active candidates for public office.

No better service could be performed by this great organization than to devise a strategy for total black participation in the political process of this country. And by ensuring participation, I do not mean just mastering the techniques and mechanics of voter registration and mobilization, although they are critically important. I also mean addressing the underlying problem of how to stimulate, encourage and inspire our people so that they will become a part of the nation's political system.

You are the National Urban League and thus, together with other concerns, you know and you are committed to the needs of the central cities. Today black people have control or substantial influence over some of the largest cities in the nation. Some of the most valuable real estate, a large part of the world's finance and commerce, and perhaps a fifth of the American people are in or near cities whose destiny can be decided by the political decisions of blacks.

But this power will never be fully realized until it is combined with economic power, until we have ownership of the lands and buildings and the infrastructure of our neighborhoods. The Urban League has in the past pioneered the concepts of expanded ownership and community self determination. And I hope you will continue to build on these. For we must continue and we must accelerate the fight for real home ownership, for cooperative building rehabilitation and management efforts, for community land banks and land redevelopment projects, and for community equity in the businesses and services which determine the quality of urban life. And I should add that it is not only the urban poor and minorities who have been denied their "piece of the rock". Our black farmers in the South and in the West also need support to maintain their equity in agricultural land.

As you work on these difficult problems in your seminar tonight, and in the remaining days of your convention, I trust you will remember that our greatest hope, our greatest resource is still locked within our communities. We have the key and we can open the doors. We cannot *give* power to the people. They have power. But I think we can provide the leadership and inspiration so that they will want to and be able to use it effectively.

Mr. McGannon: Thank you Senator Brooke for your very meaningful and important message. I am pleased now to introduce Chuck Stone, columnist for the Philadelphia Daily News and moderator for tonight's program and he will introduce the panel members.

Mr. Stone: Good evening. I will introduce the panelists and the journalists in the order of their seating position. First is Mr. Robert L. Healy, Executive Editor, Boston Globe. The second is Ms. Mal Johnson, Director of Community Affairs, and Senior Washington Correspondent for the Cox Broadcasting Corporation. Third, Mr. Lovell Dyett, Operations Manager, WBZ-TV right here in Boston.

Now our distinguished members of the panel: first, the Honorable Yvonne Braithwaite Burke of California who is also the Chairperson for the Congressional Black Caucus.

It is very hard to accord the objective introduction for all of our members, but this is an old dear friend to all of us, the Honorable Hubert H. Humphrey, Senator

from Minnesota. Next the man who has been described as one of the true intellects in the United States Senate, The Honorable Charles McC. Mathias, United States Senator from Maryland.

The next is Mr. Arthur A. Fletcher who is the Deputy Assistant to the President for Urban Affairs, Mr. Fletcher. Your indulgence now for a few introductory remarks before we hear from our panelists.

There is a tendency among some analysts to treat the black vote as if it were separate and distinct from other groups. It isn't. The black vote is first of all a bloc vote. It unites its members with the same intensity as the farm vote, the Southern vote, the Labor vote, the Catholic vote, the Jewish vote, the women's vote, the conservative vote, and the liberal vote.

Chuck Stone

All of them are blocs of Americans who place the highest premium on legislation designed to maximize what they view as their primary roles in this pluralistic society. Every voting bloc wants to believe its group was the most decisive factor in an election. In fact political happiness can be defined as knowing a candidate won only with your vote and lost because he didn't get it.

In 1944 and again in 1960 the black vote was a balance of power in the victories respectively of President Roosevelt and President Kennedy. In 1944 the Republican National Committee Chairman, Herbert Brownell, said that a shift of only three hundred and three thousand votes in fifteen states outside of the South would have enabled Tom Dewey to capture one hundred and seventy five additional electoral votes and win the Presidency with an eight vote electoral vote margin.

But in at least eight of those fifteen states that Mr. Brownell listed, the black vote exceeded the number needed to shift the outcome into the Republican column.

In 1960 John F. Kennedy won election by a paper thin margin of one hundred and twelve thousand votes or only two tenths of 1%. The national electorate in effect had split its votes half between Kennedy and Nixon, all except black voters who gave Mr. Kennedy a national average of 77%. In three states, Illinois, South Carolina and Michigan, black voters were identified by Theodore H. White in his book *The Making of the Presidency 1960*, as providing the margin for victory for Mr. Kennedy. Had Kennedy lost the fifty five electoral votes of just those three states, he would have lost to Mr. Nixon by twenty six electoral votes or two hundred and seventy four to two hundred and forty eight.

On the other hand the black vote has been notoriously impotent in other Presidential elections. In 1952, 1956, 1968 and again in 1972 the black vote went 75% or more for the Democratic candidate and yet the Republican candidate won without it. In 1976 what will happen? Will the black vote be a balance of power as it was in 1944, and 1960, or will the Republican candidate win easily in 1976 without the black vote as happened four times since 1952?

Can a Democratic candidate win without a specific black vote strategy in the belief that the black vote has no where else to go? Is Jimmy Carter's current two to one lead in all national polls over both Gerald Ford and Ronald Reagan a good or a bad omen for the black vote? Stay tuned and our panelists will give you the answers to those questions in just a few minutes. But before we do, I would like to ask a brief question of all four of our distinguished panelists which they will answer very briefly before our grand inquisitors get into the act.

This question is Ms. Burke and gentlemen: Since 1964 there has been a gradual decline in the percentage of voters turning out in the Presidential/elections. This trend has been most marked among black voters. What do each of you think the 1976 Presidential candidates can do to reverse this trend of a low turnout? Ms. Burke.

Congresswoman Burke: I'm going to start out by saying that it certainly is a pleasure to join the National Urban League, because I think it is going to be important in turning that trend around. The reason why blacks have been staying away from the polls is they felt it didn't make any difference if they had nothing to vote for. There was a feeling of hopelessness; that by participating in the political process it did not necessarily mean there would be a change on major policy issues. This happens again and again.

The same thing that applies to the national ticket, applies in every district and if you look at the districts you live in, you know it is very difficult to get many of your friends and relatives out. If you have a black candidate some of the people who never thought of going to the polls suddenly are motivated. Well I'm saying it is not just a matter of a black candidate. Blacks are sophisticated voters. I don't care what

Yvonne Burke

anyone says, they know and can sense who is going to do something that will address their basic needs.

I say this to the Democratic party, my party. If we want to get black voters out, if we want to get them motivated, we are going to have to say to those voters that we are going to offer a policy that will change very basic needs and meet the needs for jobs, and meet the needs for social improvement and for education.

If it is followed up that way, I believe that the black voter will be participating and we know that we can make the difference, and we can elect the President.

Mr. Stone: Thank you Congresswoman Burke. Senator Humphrey.

Senator Humphrey: I believe that Ms. Burke has said it very well. I would like to add my little bit to it. The voter turnout among low income groups is the most obvious of the drop in voting in recent years and I believe there is a reason for it.

First, the political parties and their candidates often time do not sharpen the issues so the people understand there is a difference. There is a tendency on the part of people in public life to be more concerned about what the editor of the newspaper says than what people who read the newspaper are thinking. I suggest they spend a little time thinking about and looking at the problems that people see.

The black voter is a part of the total electorate. As somebody said, everything that troubles society at large is a special burden for blacks, and there is a reason for saying that. If you have 7½ % unemployment at large, that is 14% in the black community. If you have a drop in income for the total community it is a larger drop in income for the black community. If you have problems in the cities, who does it effect primarily. The low income groups, the elderly, the minorities, and particularly the black community.

If we want to get people out to vote, there is one way to do it. Register them first and then appeal to what they think are their needs. That is the purpose of government. It is not catering to people to talk about things they are concerned about; their jobs; their income; their housing; their health; their education.

You don't have to direct it on a color line. People of all walks of life want good schools and good teachers, they need health care whether they are black or white, they need a home in which to live no matter what their race or their color may be or their religion. They would like to have a city in which they can live which gives a wholesome environment.

My advice to the Democratic party is to stand up bravely, courageously and face what we know are the issues and quit worrying about whether somebody agrees with what we have to say. Let's jsut look at what the citizen is concerned about and I think that we will get voters out.

Mr. Stone: Thank you Senator. Senator Mathias

Seantor Mathias: It is a great privilege for me to be here to meet with the Urban League, to be here with Mrs. Burke, Senator Humphrey, and Mr. Fletcher. If you think that there is a problem with the fall off in black voters, you ought to be a Republican.

But very seriously I think the problem is a bi-partisan problem that affects Democrats as well as Republicans. People are disgusted with the parties. They are disgusted with the way both of our great major parties are operating these days. They are sick and tired of the hypocrisy of it.

You know we go out as politicans and say we want you to contribute to the political process, and what do we do with the money? We get a great convention hall like the one we are in here tonight and put ten thousand balloons up on the ceiling. At the moment the candidate appears on the edge of the stage we release these balloons so that it looks good on television. Well that is alright I suppose, but it is pretty meaningless to people who want jobs and want homes and want to find a way to pay their hospital bills.

You know it is a shocking thing that there are more people in this country who are eligible to vote who aren't even registered than who are registered. The way to get these people to participate to vote is to respond to their real concerns and to make it clear to them that their participation means something to the process and that problems such as the disintegration of family life are not below the consideration of government.

Problems such as safety in the streets is not below the concern of government and neither is the fact that young people have twice as hard a job, twice as big a problem to get a job as older people.

Young blacks have four or five times the kind of problem to get a job as other people. These are things that if government would really demonstrate a concern about, I think that would get double the turnout at our elections and that is what I would like to see done.

Hubert H. Humphrey

Mr. Stone: Thank you Senator. Mr. Fletcher.

Mr. Fletcher: First, let me thank you for inviting me to participate. Let me say that as the non-elected participant, as well as one who has been involved on the delivery end of government's promises, I think one of the reasons voters are turned off, irrespective of color and economic circumstance and probably one of the reasons why blacks and other poors are extremely turned off, is because of high expectations and low performance by way of delivery.

What I'm saying is the legislative branch can make certian specific promises as a result of making a genuine attempt to respond to the needs, desires and the problems of those in the public at large. The problem becomes, the government's inability to perform in terms of expediting remedies to those problems.

During the sixties and early seventies it was interesting for me to note as I ran some of the Manpower Programs, that the people that were most disgusted with the programs were the ones who were supposed to benefit from them. It didn't take them long to believe the program itself was not the remedy to their problems. I have some serious doubts as to whether you can increase voter participation in the forthcoming election. I don't care who operates the Executive Branch, whether the administration which I am now part of is fortunate enough to be re-elected or the Democratic party is elected, the hard cold fact is that the folk are going to be looking at the Executive Branch to see whether it can help deliver on a Health Program; to see whether it can help deliver on a Food Stamp Program that helps their problems.

I think that every administration that has addressed itself in the fifties and sixties to solving the problem of the poor have failed to deliver on their promises because the Executive Brance doesn't seem to know how to get the job done.

Mr. Stone: The first question of Congresswoman Yvonne Burke goes to Mr. Robert healy Executive Editor of the Boston Globe.

Mr. Healy: Congressman Burke, John Conyers in New York suggested that the first order of business for Jimmy Carter as the nominee should be to go to Washington and ask the Democratic leadership to pass the Humphrey-Hawkins bill. He didn't do it. Are you satisfied with what is in the Democratic platform, and are you satisfied with the commitment that the Democratic candidate for president has to that platform?

Congresswoman Burke: Let me first address the question of HR50. I would hope HR50 which is the Full Employment Bill or the Hawkins-Humphrey Bill, would be passed during this session and it would be part of a legislative program not a platform. I think we need it now. We don't need full employment later. We have some immediate needs that should be addressed. Unfortunately Governor Carter is not a member of the body that has to vote on that bill. Our immediate problem and I would say that this is one that is going to take a lot of organization from all of us; is that there are members of Congress who feel it is a hot potato. They are afraid to run on it. They are afraid to come out and say they want to give people jobs instead of leaving them in the situation they are in. So ours is an internal problem where we have a situation where the freshman Democrats voted sixty five to ten not to take up HR50. Those are the people we need to be talking to.

Certainly we should talk to Governor Carter, and he has given us a commitment to support the bill. We also are going to have to get commitments from those people we are working with in the House of Representatives.

You ask if I am satisfied with the platform. I'm the wrong person to ask because I worked on the platform, and I feel that I did the best I could. Of course there are certain things I would like to see in it that are not. For instance, energy stamps, or economic parity. But we went about this problem in a different way.

Charles McC. Mathias

The Caucus of Black Democrats met in May in Charlotte, North Carolina. We set up a policy statement including things we would like to see in a platform. We then approached the platform committee in an organized way. We took each one of those things, introduced them, fought for them. We would lose at one level, go to the next level, divide it up and work on the next level of procedure to try and get it included.

I believe we got a substantial portion of those policy positions in the platform. We have prepared an analysis that is now available to show exactly the parallel between the policy paper from the Caucus of Black Democrats and the Democratic platform. I have to say to you, if I wrote it myself I would have had a few additional things in there, but I was pleased with it.

We even got down to getting Dr. Martin Luther King's Birthday as a national holiday. I could go down one by one, the things that are included: The National Health Insurance, full employment, minority business. And one that says don't believe those companies that do business in South Africa should enjoy tax exemptions in this country. It wasn't easy and we had to approach it in a very organized method, but I'm satisfied with what we did.

Mr. Healy: How about the last part of the question, the commitment of the candidate to the platform?

Congresswoman Burke: Governor Carter has made the statement that he will run on the platform. I heard one statement by the campaign manager, Ham Jordan that he was unhappy with the statement on busing. I've heard other statements that there was some question that the platform addressed a commitment to the Supreme Court ruling on abortion.

Now I suspect Governor Carter has some reservations since he didn't write the platform, but he got a lot of input into it. He probably has some reservations, but he has made a commitment that he is going to run on that platform.

Mr. Stone: Ms. Johnson?

Ms. Johnson: Senator Humphrey, Governor Carter proposes regularly that he will effect a change in Washington. Now you were savvy to all of the Washington maneuvering and the brokering that goes on in any administration which many times hamstrings a President. Is it likely Carter can break through most of this and truly reform the federal system and get the Congress to go along with him? Is this realistic?

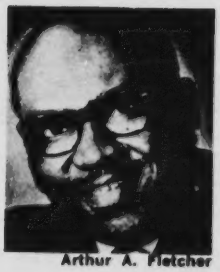
Senator Humphrey: Well I have been there quite a while but I'm a very realistic man and I'm also an idealist. I believe it is important to have objectives, standards, ideals, even if you can't always achieve them. That goes back to what was said a little bit earlier, that we may be accused as politicians of over promising. Well let me say to this audience most everything worthwhile is an over promise.

The sermon on the mount is an over promise in terms of the fulfillment. The Pledge of Allegiance of the Flag is obviously an over promise. I want to say it wouldn't be much of a world if you didn't have the ideas that are embodied in the old and the New Testament. It wouldn't be much of a country if we didn't have the ideals that are embodied in the Pledge of Allegiance. These are standards to which we aspire. I think it is important for people to have standards by which they are judged.

I can't go for this business of mediocrity. I don't go for this idea that you only promise what you think you can do, because what you think you can do is half what you ought to do. Most people grow by stretching. I'm of the opinion that the country and government has to have goals.

General Motors doesn't sell a lot of automobiles because they tell their dealers, well you do the best you can. That isn't what they do. They say we are going to have a target and we are going to try and get something done.

This is why Congresswomen Burke and I believe there is going to be a target for employment. This is why we believe there ought to be a target for production and for income. I believe in having targets. It is the only way you can find out how far you missed. It is the only way you have as voters to hold us accountable.


Arthur A. Fletcher

Now in reference to our platform, a number of promises have been made. I think we will have to be judged by how well we fulfill those promises. But we are not going to get heaven on earth in the next administration. We are not going to solve all the nation's problems all at once. But I think we ought ot keep in mind what Albert Einstein once said about America. He said: "It is always the beginning and never the being." In other words the challenge always the star.

Will Governor Carter be able to re-organize the government? Will he be able to make the bureaucracy more responsive? I can only tell you I know he will try. I know he has made the promise and therefore, we can hold him more accountable. I know he will run incredible resistance in Congress, I know that and I will tell you why. Congressmen who chair the committees and subcommittees will guard their jurisdiction more than a lion out in the jungle will guard their territories. They don't want anybody to change it.

For example, we've got a Department of Interior and a Department of Agriculture. One of them has the Park Service in it. It has a National Park that has millions of acres of trees. That is the Department of Interior. The Agriculture Department has the Forestry Service which has millions of acres of trees. Try and put the two together.

I was the Mayor of the City of Minneapolis and the biggest problem we had was trying to get Minneapolis and St. Paul to work together, they are divided by the Mississippi River. If you could reach across the street you are in St. Paul or Minneapolis. But to put them together, to get something done required almost another miracle. But we worked at it and today we have a Metropolitan Council that is bringing them together.

I think Governor Carter can do something. I will tell you why. I think he is a determined man, I think he has a sense of firmness about him. I think he has a sense of pride. I think that he is really going to demand from the Congress of the United States that we come around to at least facing up to his challenges. If he has the right challenges, we will come around to him. If he doesn't, if I think he is wrong, I'm going to tell him so in capital letters. If I think that he is right I'm going to cheer him.

Mr. Dyett: Senator Mathias, what do you think the Republicans will put together in their platform? It seems the Democrats manage to give everyone a little bit of something. Will the Republicans do that. Give everyone a little bit of something or ignore the black vote?

Senator Mathias: Well it is my earnest hope the Republican platform will be in the great tradition of the Republican party, and I hear some snickers out there. But there was a great tradition of the Republican party in the past. That is the tradition I want to see revived. It is the tradition which is a great part of American history. It is the tradition which right here in the State of Massachussets Charles Sumner, a great Republican Senator, called the Republican party the party of humanity, the party who cared about people, about individuals. That is the spirit I want to see infused in the platform.

Let me say I can come here tonight to talk on this subject with a great deal of humility, because in my own state, my party turned down my candidacy to be on that platform committee. They knew this was the kind of program I would espouse. I'm going to go to Kansas City and even though I won't go as a member of the platform committee I'm still going to fight for these things, because they are important.

Mr. Dyett: Let me refer to a specific problem. Today Alan Greenspan, who advises President Ford on the economy, said he supports fighting inflation with unemployment which has resulted in the White House policy and unemployment being between 7% and 9%. Can we put something in that platform where the black voter can be encouraged if he knows the government will do something with their federal dollars to relieve unemployment?

Senator Mathias: I myself have long been in favor of the policy of full employment. I'm in favor of it just as much as Senator Humphrey and Congressman Hawkins. I think that we are not far apart. We might be supporting the same bills before we run out this string. There are a number of people in the Republican Party who feel the same way.

Robert L. Healy

Arthur Burns the Chariman of the Federal Reserve Board, has the reputation of being a right wing reactionary. He said just the other day that he believed, and I'm going to quote from him, that "the ultimate objective of labor market policies should be to eliminate all involuntary unemployment."

He said "This is not a radical or an impractical goal because it rests on the simple but often neglected fact that work is far better than the dole both for the jobless individual and for the nation." Now if Arthur Burns can say that, then the Republican Platform ought to say it.

Mr. Dyett: You aren't going to Kansas City to support Humphrey-Hawkins are you?

Senator Mathias: I'm going to Kansas City to support a program for jobs for every American who is able and wants to work. And let me say this if the only way to get there is Humphrey-Hawkins I will go that way.

Mr. Healy: Mr. Fletcher, as the Ford Administration's man on the panel, I have a question about Secretary of State Henry Kissinger. He came here last night as President Ford's Ambassador of Good Will and clearly he offended some with his remarks about the 'intellectual' purity at the State Department in connection with job appointments and Ambassadors overseas. Was Dr. Kissinger being naive or was it some kind of pre-convention strategy to win the Mississippi Delegation?

Mr. Fletcher: I'm going to respond to your question. I'm also going to respond to Senator Humphrey's comments about my suggestion that the government overpromises. I'm not backing up one bit on that.

When I took over as the Assistant Secretary of Labor in the United States Labor Department, the administration had been promising jobs on the basis of Executive order 11246. I'm hard pressed to believe that the Secretary of Labor didn't know you needed rules, regulations and guidelines to deliver on that promise. I'm hard pressed to believe the Secretary of Labor didn't know you needed a budget. I'm hard pressed to believe that he didn't know you needed people to go out where jobs were being given away; for somebody to do compliance reviews; compliance audits and satisfy the goals, targets and time tables I set.

What I found was that there were no goals, there were no targets, there were no timetables, there were no budgets, there was no staff and there was nobody delivering on that promise. I also found the **Equal Pay Act for Women** on the books and I found it was bi-partisanly supported. But I also found that no budget had been asked for, no staff had been hired, and nobody had been trained to do a compliance review at places where women were employed to see if they were receiving equal pay.

I'm not saying don't promise, I'm saying if you are going to promise, provide the resources to deliver on that promise. And I'm also saying train the staff, make them technically competent so they will know how to collect the kind of legal evidence that is needed to win in the courts.

What I'm finding is that those who don't want us to deliver on what the Congress proposes, move over to the Executive Branch and the special interest comes to play. They hire lawyers and they hire whatever it is that is needed to take whatever program we are trying to deliver on into court and to tie up in court and nothing ever happens.

I find the oversight committees don't hold enough hearings to find out what is really going on in the bowels of those agencies and until that happens you run the risk still again of over-promising. So it is going to be very important that if we do turn the voters around and convince them that the government can deliver on its promises, we don't stop by making the promise, we tool up and we devise the means to deliver them.

As far as Mr. Kissinger is concerned, I have not had the opportunity to talk to him since I turned down an Ambassadorship to Tanzania myself. After spending all of my life in the political arena in this country, I didn't want to go through on the job training trying to learn to be a diplomat in Tanzania. I think I can be helpful in this country so I chose to stay here.

As for his strategy here. I think he was less than prepared for coming to appear before this particular audience. He did something that was rather interesting to me. I

don't recall of a Secretary of State of either party picking a black organization to present a major national policy statement. That's what he did last night, that was a policy statement.

I would have advised him above all, if you come before this organization which has been interested in employment, employment, employment and more employment, for God's sake know how many brothers and sisters you've got employed in your shop. I would also have encouraged him to know who's there, why they are there, what they are doing, when they are doing it, and how much power do they have to do it with.

Mal Johnson

As for the Mississippi Delegation, I hope Mr. Ford can get it because I would like to stay around and see if I can't implement some policies that I would like to see implemented to bring relief to the urban areas. I don't even apoligize for that either. We need the Mississippi Delegation to beat the Reagan folk and I would like to see him get it. In fact I will go down there and ask for it if he will ask me to.

Ms. Johnson: Congresswoman Burke, I appreciate Mr. Fletcher's remarks about the Secretary of State. But I would still like to follow through on that. Many people here did feel that he showed right then what he thought of the importance of black people. However, the members of the Black Caucus met with him a couple of times and they came away giving him some pretty high marks, but that wasn't the judgement of this group here.

They felt he didn't do quite well. Can you tell us how you and the members of the Caucus reacted to his remarks back in Washington?

Congresswoman Burke: I would first like to address this whole question of qualifications. I hope one of the things we see in a new administration is dedication to qualification. As I travel as a member of the Appropriation Committee and talk to people in the State Department and talk to Ambassadors, I don't see where Firestone was uniquely qualified to become an Ambassador. I don't see where Volpe was qualified to become an Ambassador because of his training.

I've been to East Germany. I have talked to our Ambassador there and you will have to show me his qualifications. I have had an opportunity to meet some distinguished Ambassadors, but they were selected usually because of their knowledge of foreign policy.

This is not a new problem. I'm not saying it started with this administration, but this is a time of reform we are in, and part of our reform is to say we are going to bring people in.

I find from my discussion with people who are involved in foreign policy and the State Department that many of those people come in as trainees, and they work their way up. But there is usually a maximum on how far they can go, because top positions are political positions. So I would hope that Secretary Kissinger would recognize certainly, as I'm sure he does recognize that anybody could have done just as well as Shirley Temple Black in Africa.

You don't have to have a major in International relations to be able to do that if you have a feel for it. But I certainly would hope those positions are based on a person's background and interest in an area and a region rather than how much they contribute.

We brought up the question on black employees in the State Department with Secretary Kissinger because we did not find that they were moving up into positions and we didn't find that they were being recruited. We did receive assurances from Kissinger that they would start recruiting more blacks. I find his statement yesterday to be very distressing. I don't know if there are figures showing tremendous numbers of blacks have been recruited in the State Department. I certainly would like to know about it.

When we talk about the reaction in Washington and what the Caucus sees as our role, we feel that our role with the Secretary of State is to try and educate not only those people who are involved in foreign policy, but our colleagues on the problems of black Africa. We meet with the black Ambassadors from those countries in Africa at least every other month, so that we become more familiar. We try to articulate their needs, and how they are going to be able to have not just majority rule, but economic independence. We see this as our role.

We see our role the same as our Jewish colleagues see their role as it relates to Israel, of trying to be there on the scene and explaining to people why we have to

Lovell Dyett

have majority rule. We met with Kissinger and gained an affirmative response. He indicated to us the United States would take a different policy and we have discussed at length many of these issues.

I'm not saying that we've been successful, because we've been trying for a long time to ger recognition of Angola and we haven't gotten very far. But we've been pushing to get a strong African policy as far as this nation's policy.

I would hope Secretary Kissinger is not reflecting what will be the future of our State Department's position on Africa or responsiveness to the needs for a strong position and a strong policy statement.

I recognize his position and the difficulties that he had. His own position is tenuous in this administration. He is being criticized, but whoever is the new Secretary of State the Black Caucus will be meeting with him because we feel we have a responsibility to do so. We have a responsibility to try and develop the kind of foreign policy that is going to bring our nation more in line with what we say are our goals. We talk about democracy but somehow we can't understand how democracy in South Africa is important as it is right here at home. This is a part of the program and the need that we see we have to expose.

Mr. Dyett: Mr. Humphrey. I'm going to give you a homerun pitch now; you can hit right out of the park. Most people perceive Humphrey Hawkins as being primarily an employment bill where the government has a chance to employ the unemployed. Many other people who look at it a little harder see it as an employment planning bill or a fiscal policy planning bill. Many people who have lobbied against it are afraid of it because it gives the government too much power and it might stifle free enterprise, some people suspect. How can you defend Humphrey Hawkins when the so called private sector opposes it because it might stifle their own efforts for free enterprise?

Sen. Humphrey: My friends in the private sector have never read the bill and that is a fact. I can tell you that in response to editorial comment about the bill they frankly have said, "Oh we are sorry, we are looking at the first bill that was introduced not the second bill which represents what we call HR50 and S50.

This bill's primary objective is to accelerate and stimulate the private economy so there will be production, income and jobs within the private sector. That's its purpose. Now the President of the United States every year presents to the Congress the budget. Every year he presents to the Congress the State of the Union Message. He outlines what he thinks are the goals for our country.

Today Civil Rights fulfillment is in the marketplace. We've got all kinds of law. You can stay in the same motel, if you can afford to pay the rent. You can go to the same theatre, if you can afford to buy the ticket. The problem today is in the market place. When there is recession the first people to be hurt are the minorities, all people are hurt but the minorities more so. When there are layoffs, the last to be hired are the first to be fired and you and I know that the last to be hired in the last few years have been the minorities. Many of them are the black minorities.

The Humphrey Hawkins bill says to the President of the United States, each year Mr. President you shall present to the Congress of the United States, the goals of this nation for production, gross national product; the goals of this nation for income and also the goal of this nation to restrain inflation. That is all in the bill.

How does the President arrive at these goals? By bringing together the separate units of government that act today like they are independent members of the United Nations. They are bringing together the Office of Management and Budget that handles for the American people over four hundred billion of Federal expenditures. That is an important economic item.

Secondly, to bring together with the Office of Management and Budget the tax policy that the government believes ought to be used to stimulate industry and jobs. Thirdly, to bring into the government policy the cooperation of the Federal Reserve System.

Today, the Federal Reserve System is not only independent, it is out there may I say, in its fiscal monetary pristine purity so that you can hardly touch it. On the one hand, Congress reduces taxes to stimulate the economy. In the same month the Federal Reserve Board tightens up on the credit and raises the interest rates which slows down the economy. It is like putting your foot on the gas pedal in the car and slamming on the brakes.

What we are asking for in the Humphrey Hawkins Bill or HR50 as it is in the house? What we are asking for is simply this, that the President who is Chief of State, the Chief Executive Officer, present to the Congress of the United States and the American People, an economic program. He presents to us a Defense Program, and a budget. We simply say Mr. President, since you are going to be in charge of a third of the total income of this country and the budget, a third of everything that we produce, let's try to tie that in to some objectives.

On top of that we say, if the private economy does not respond fast enough to absorb the unemployed we have extra measures that we put in. These extra measures are like lifeboats for a great big cruiser. You don't use them unless you need them, unless you are in trouble. What are those extra things? Aid to our cities so they have revenues. What good does it do, ladies and gentlemen, to force the city of New York to layoff seventy five thousand people in budget restraints and then have the federal government come up and hire fifteen thousand people under the Comprehensive Educational Training Act? It is ridiculous. You ought to have the people on the job doing the things they need to do.

What else do we propose? We propose that if there are no jobs in the private sector that there be public works. Is there anything to do in this country? Good God we could put every young man to work in this country just fixing up the railroad beds of this country. We know that we could do that. We are fifteen years behind in reforestation, our rivers need to be cleaned up, our lakes need to be cleaned up, we need to build parks, the whole national park system is in utter disarray, I say to you that it is utterly ridiculous to leave people standing idle either getting unemployment compensation or doing nothing except getting in trouble when there are things to do in this country.

People say well it costs too much. That is the argument. The argument is "Oh, Mr. Humphrey the trouble with you is that you do not know anything about costs." Oh, yes I do. For every juvenile delinquent that is incarcerated in this country, for every young man and women taken into a state or federal institution, it costs not less than nine thousand a year. Now Imagine what you could do with that young person if you had given that young person a nine thousand dollar job.

I will tell you what we've been doing. We've close up half of the job corps centers, literally dismantled the poverty program and we've had to fight for every little two bit public service job program that we've had. We've got streets to build, roads to fix up, railroads to modernize. The American railroad system is fifty years behind and we ought to do something about it, and that is what the Humphrey Hawkins Bill is all about.

Get the private economy to work and if it doesn't work fast enough, for God's sake let's have something better than food stamps or welfare for people.

Mr. Dyett: Senator Humphrey if you can give me an abbreviated answer on this followup. The Humphrey Hawkins Bill appears to be silent on multi-national corporations that export millions of dollars and millions of jobs of investment. If you read the bill, it appears to allow multi-national corporations to continue to function outside the country.

Sen. Humphrey: You can't cover everything in one bill. One of the real problems of the bill is that it has got too much in it already. We've covered more items than we really needed to. We didn't cover housing, education and training in the bill. These things I think are extra add ons. The real purpose of the bill sir is to get the private economy working as it ought to in cooperation with government. The government has a tremendous impact.

Let me just say in reference to Dr. Kissinger. I want to say a word about him and I'm a big card carrying Democrat. I know last night in answer to questions here he didn't do too well. But I came back to the Senate in 1971 after being out to pasture for a couple of years through the will of the electorate, and I found that there was no interest in any Africa policy in the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. I'm talking about a committee governed by Democrats.

I became Chairman of that sub-committee and gave it the first activity it had: we passed in the Senate the repeal of the Byrd Amendment which related to sanctions on Rhodesia. That was a vital thing in the Black Caucus. They wanted something done. Dr. Kissinger went to Lusaka in Zambia, and he had to fight it out before he

went to deliver the most important African Policy Statement this government has ever made.

Now I'm not here to try and elect Dr. Kissinger to anything, but I want to tell you something. While I don't agree with the manner in which he handled his questions last night, the policy speech that he gave is one that the right wing in this country hates. It is one which some of the President's political advisors urged him not to give. It is the kind of a speech that all of the neanderthals in politics hoot and jeer at. He needs support for that speech.

Now let me tell you what else he needs, he needs you to talk to Congress, to the Congress that is Democratically controlled. I handled the bill as my friend Senator Mathias knows for foreign assistance. I handled the bill that took care of the Africa Assistance Program, and we had one knock down, drag out fight to get any bills.

When you get ready to vote for someone, I don't care if he is Republican of Democrat, you had better ask him some questions. You had better ask whether or not the United States of America is going to join up an have a policy with the developing countries of this world that has some interest in their will being, or whether we are still going to stick with our South Africa policy, or whether we are still going to stick with some kind of policy that ignores people's rights.

Kissinger can do a lot better in the State Department, but I want to tell you again, and here I hate to admit it, but he got more blacks in there than we the Democrats had, that is a fact. That doesn't mean we weren't trying to do something. It simply means this, it means that the black community has to be demanding, the black community has to be alert and alive, it has to say what Congresswoman Burke is saying, namely we want some action. I can guarantee you Senator Mathias and Mr. Fletcher, when Governor Carter is elected and he will be, we intend to have a word with him about these things.

Mr. Healy: Senator Mathias, the President has vetoed more bills than any other president in recent history. These bills concern the poor, benefits to education, social welfare and jobs. You won 52% of the votes in twelve solid black precincts in Baltimore in your race with Barbara McCulsky. What kind of advice would you give to the President today in order to carry 52% of those black precincts in Baltimore?

Sen. Mathias: Before I answer that question, let me just say a word to my good friend Ms. Burke and Senator Humphrey. Ms. Burke said a very interesting thing when she was talking about filling Ambassadorial Posts. She said and I jotted in down here, "Top positions are political," and she is right. That's been the history of this country's appointments to Ambassadorships around the world in both Democratic and in Republican administrations. The top posts are political.

So in the past couple of years I have been sponsoring legislation in the Senate which has passed the Senate with the help of my good friend Senator Humphrey, which would say that 85% of all the Ambassadorships have to be professioanals, have to come out of the career foreign service where everybody is chosen on merit and not on the kind of contribution you gave to somebody's political kitty.

I am hopeful that in the event that Senator Humphrey's prediction should actually come about, that they as Democrats in a Democratic administration will do what I have done as the Republican in a Republican administration an take away from a President the right to make those capricious, selfish, partisan appointments and to make it 85% on merit, because that's what it ought to be.

Now you ask me what advice I would give to President Ford in order to get 52% support in the black Precincts of the city of Baltimore or any black neighborhood. I've already given President Ford that advice. I gave it to him the other day when we had the question before the Senate of the veto on the Jobs Bill. I voted to override the veto.

But more than that I have urged him and will continue to urge him, and will urge again as I said before at the convention in Kansas City, that the progressive tradition of the Republican Party be restored because we are down in the last twenty years from over 40% of the national electorate to under 18% of the national electorate. You have to ask yourself how that came about. Among young people in America and by a very liberal definition of those who are young, anybody under the age of thirty, only 15% will admit that they are Republicans.

Now if there is any chance in the world of the Republican Party surviving and restoring its great progressive tradition there has to be a turnaround. I think there

can be a turnaround, but I think this may be the last stop in that station. Now some of you nickered a few minutes ago when I talked about the great tradition of the Republican Party, but I want to remind you Nixon and John Mitchell didn't invent the Republican Party.

I would advise President Ford to go back to the roots, to the real sources of our tradition and our strength as the party of humanity. If he does that, I don't think it matters what kind of precincts there are. I think he can win.

If he doesn't do that and I don't hesitate to say before all of you tonight, if he doesn't do that I don't know that there will be a Republican Party after 1976 or one that matters very much.

Ms. Johnson: Mr. Fletcher, I'm wondering how you would evaluate Mr. Ford's sensitivity to getting blacks to register to vote. Since I'm told that no one has been able to get any funding for an organization such as the Urban League, that traditionally works in voter registration and education to fund black voter registration campaign. Wouldn't that be a matter that a black in the Ford Administration would attend to which may even help Mr. Ford at the polls in November?

Mr. Fletcher: I wish those who advise the President would agree with your logic. But the hard cold fact is they don't. For twenty eight years, and I've spent all of my political life in the Republican Party, I've tried very hard to convince those who raise the money and control the purse strings for Republican candidates in campaigns to make a significant effort in the black community. Their response has been and I might say to you Senator Mathias, if you think there are a few white folks that vote Republican, you ought to see how many blacks do it. Their response is they really don't feel they have much of a chance of picking up black votes.

In fact, what they say to me is an interesting cycle that is in motion. They say blacks don't really consider us so we have to use our financial resources where we think that we can get a vote.Blacks on the other side say until they consider me, I could care less whether I'm registered to vote for them.

There are also those far rightwingers in the party who feel the registration in the black community is a sure road to defeat. I quite frequently make reference to statistics that show that tremendous efforts are made to register the black vote and precincts get registered almost 100%, only to turn out about 35% or 36% or 37% on election day.

I'm also discovering while looking at those statistics and this is a part of the answer, that other minority groups, and I want you to listen to this well, other minority groups have watched black political progress in the political arena both in the Executive, Legislative and Judicial branches of government at the city, state and national levels. They are being encouraged by some of the far rightwing reactionaries to look upon the progress blacks have made in the political arena as a threat to their security.

It is not uncommon now to find other minorities who should be joining us, asking for a bigger piece of the pie. They are saying all you are doing, you are doing for blacks, because they are registering, voting, and you really are not interested in us. I will identify some of them, other minorities. One is out on the West Coast in the Congress lady's district. In that area there is actually a so-called Brown Revolution going on, with Spanish Americans not requesting the pie be made bigger but requesting they would get jobs that would normally go to blacks. Now if this kind of thing continues we have a real problem on our hands.

At the moment I don't believe my party is going to be willing to expend any money increasing black voter registration as long as they think that is the process to fatten frogs for hogs. They simply believe that they are not going to get the black vote, with some pretty good evidence to back it up.

I watched the special elections I might add during the mid-term a year or so ago. It was interesting to note that certain elements working in Michigan and Ohio in support of the black candidates, came to me and said "The feeling is that you don't even have to carry the candidate down into the black community. All you've got to do is get them registered and get them to the polls. All you've got to do to get them to the polls is mention Richard Nixon or mention the Republican Party and they will go. When they go they will pull the lever without asking any questions of the candidate." As long as that sort of thing goes on, my party is not about to register blacks although I will try my best to get them to do so. So at this moment I'm hard pressed to believe they are going to do that.

Ms. Johnson: Is there the possibility you might continue with your party or change to the other party?

Mr. Fletcher: No, I don't have any problems staying with the party because I think some of us have to try to have an impact. You see our future is in the political arena. I would like to make the point that we were excluded from this society as a result of a political act in South Carolina. When that legislature passed a law that black folks were chattle, it was a political event. When the rest of the legislatures in the South decided we should be chattled, those were political events.

When President Lincoln signed the Emancipation Proclamation that was a political event. When Mr. King and other great leaders of the decade of the fifties and the sixties went to the streets, they went to the streets to get five laws passed, Voting Rights, Housing Rights, Employment Rights, Public Accomodations and Educational Rights. That's where our future is. We either win in the political arena or we lose there. I can assure you if we don't protect our flanks by having someone who is willing to be in the Republican Party to do whatever we possibly can do to slow down the tide if not turn it around, then we will lose all we fought for in the sixties; so no, I'm going to stay where I am.

Mr. Stone: I have a question of all the four panelists. I think it is very obvious we have a rather sophisticated and astute audience, politically sensitive here this evening as supporters of the National Urban League, one of the most effective organizations in this country. What do each of you think is the one thing that all of these people sitting in the audience can take back to their communities to get out a good black vote? What is the one thing that you would urge them to do when they go back?

Congresswoman Burke: First I have to address one thing that has been said here. That is the question of blacks and browns fighting. The reason we fight is because people want us to fight. It is in the best interest of many people who are in power to keep us fighting. If you ever get all the poor people and the blacks and browns and yellows and reds and everybody else together, we are going to be a force that no one wants to cope with. So we have to address this whole question of why do we fight.

We fight because a different method is used to address problems of minorities than is used in any other area. I think Senator Humphrey has referred to the defense budget. They don't just say we are going to appropriate ten billion dollars for two airplanes and let two companies fight it out. They allocate a certain amount to one kind of a defense budget item. If it is a submarine, or whatever it is going to be, they have everything delineated. It is true that they take competitive bids.

But when it comes to the problem of minorities, the approach too often is that they give us less than we need to do the job and then they say all of you minorities get together and figure out how you are going to divide it up. They say, "Well what's wrong with you, you can't agree among yourselves."

The reason we fight is that we have an inadequate budget and it is not approached or directed to particualr problems. Rather it is directed to the whole problem of all the minorities in this country. I hope the time comes when we aren't fighting and have the sophistication to know this is just a game being played on us. Instead of fighting, we are going to have to just start getting together when we make our demands and in bringing our program before a Congress or before anyone else.

But what can you take back to your district. I have to think back to when I was a political science student. They taught me about all these poor turnouts of blacks and they told me it was very difficult to get blacks registered, and you know, I believed them. But then in California we've had an initiative on the ballot called a "Fair Housing Initiative."

The point was that they were going to prevent any attempts to have fair housing. By the Constitution they were going to stop fair housing from being instituted into law. This constitutional amendment was on the ballot. I found out that people who lived in some of those ghettos and wanted to get out, could understand the very complex constitutional issue. Those people who had never gone to vote, by the time I walked through that precinct 95% of them had voted.

What I say we have to do first is get registered and we have to also educate our people to the issues involved. We have to say to them that 25% of the vote that McGovern received in 1972 cam from black voters with something like a 51%

turnout. If they are unhappy about things; if they don't like the fact that they have been living under the kind of administration they don't want, the only way they can change it and get some of the things changed is to get a change on Pennsylvania Avenue.

Now what I'm saying is if we are happy with things as they are, tell everybody just to stay at home. But if they want to see some change, they have to get registered. We are going to have to get those registration drives organized. We are going to have people coming to the polls, voting for candidates who will address themselves to the needs of minorities and poor people, to the needs of the old and to the young. I think the Urban League is going to be a vital part of this re-education and revitalizing of the American people.

So you have a tremendous job when you leave here. It is a job that is going to require a lot of work, a lot of education,and we are going to have to be on the streets getting people out to the polls because we have to seek some kind of hope. I have a Governor who says lower your expectations. I supported him but I had to say something to him. No one says lower your expectations to General Motors. No one says lower your expectations to people who came asking for tax breaks because they need a new foreign credit. But everyone always tells us to lower our expectations. I say this is the time when we are going to have to start not only coming up with new expectations, but new plans and new methods of implementating those plans, and I believe we are going to do it.

Mr. Stone: Thank you Congresswoman Burke.

Sen. Humphrey: Congresswoman Burke and Mr. Fletcher have both said, it is in the political arena that great decisions are made which affect the lives of the people of this nation. That's all of the people of this nation. That is correct. There is an attempt these days to make politics look like it is not the people's business. There is a great deal of disenchantment, cynicism about politics and politicians. If that prevails and it persists, the people themselves will suffer.

The decisions that count, that are really going to affect the lives of millions and millions of our people, in fact all of our people, are going to be made in the political arena. It is the political decisions, whether it is on tax policy, or foreign policy or health policy that affects the lives of our people.

Register yes, but also get people to understand what the fight is all about. I'm of the opinion that there is a lot to be concerned about. We hear a great deal about the need of more jobs for people. That means we need daycare centers too. We hear a great deal today about the problems that people have with their health. We've got to have health care programs in this country too. I think it is time to take a message back to the people of leadership. You are leaders, you are not just being voters. You are leaders of voters in this Urban League. I know, I've been associated with the Urban League a long time. I have considered it one of the very fortunate experiences of my life. People in this auditorium are more than just one. You lead if you want to lead.

Therefore, you've got to know to answer the critics. You've got to know when somebody talks about how costly it is going to be to put these people to work, how much it costs not to have them to work. For every 1% of unemployment, it costs the Federal Treasury a loss of fourteen billion. For every 1% of unemployment, it costs the taxpayers of this country fifteen billion in unemployment compensation, welfare, food stamps etc.

For every 1% of unemployment is costs the treasury nineteen billion dollars. That is nineteen biliion that is not available for education, health, to meet the problems of out cities and so forth. You need to be able to answer the people who try to dominate the scene by their so-called wisdom. Be ready to join the battle, that is what is important in here. Know who you ought to be for. Know when you see a series of vetoes; veto of age education, veto of school lunches, veto of education, veto of daycare centers, veto of a jobs bill, veto a public service bill, veto of health programs, I think you then need to know what the fight is all about. We didn't come here just to have a love feast tonight, we are here to talk about politics. I want to say that the two gentlemen to my right are a God send to the Republican Party. They are great leaders. They really are. If it was President Fletcher and Vice President Mathias or President Mathias and Vice President Fletcher, I would sleep good tonight. But they didn't get the nomination of their party and neither did I.

Therefore, we've got to be prepared to do battle. Now I'm not saying that you should say here comes a Democrat, my goodness isn't that wonderful. That isn't always wonderful at all. There are a lot of Democrats that we have a lot of trouble with. I know that Yvonne and I have a lot of trouble with them.

I think you ought to ask the candidates, listen, where do you stand? Do you believe in a national health program, insurance program which gives us universal health coverage to the people? But somebody is going to say, "Oh that costs too much". You tell them right off the health care last year in this country costs one hundred and eighteen billion dollars. That's an awful lot of money. That is fifty dollars for every man, woman and child. Tell them you can have a health care system that will give care for the people of this country for not more than this and you can get the facts.

You talk to them about jobs, and somebody comes up to you and says, "Oh, I want jobs for everybody". Will you say, "Well what are you going to do about it, are you going to vote for it or are you just going to talk about it."

I give you the message, the action is in the political arena. Politicians are not saints. I never ran on the sainthood ticket. There ain't any such thing. There isn't a saint in Congress. There are a few that think they are but there are none, and I can testify to that. But I will tell you what there are. They are people from your community and they need to be talked to day in and day out. When election day comes, your vote is their power. Your vote is your power and you ought to use it.

There are alternatives and you can find a way to use it. It isn't just in federal elections, it is in State elections. I'm proud of the state government in my state. We've done things out there. I don't care if you are the poorest kid in the state of Minnesota you get the same quality of education if you are the richest kid in the state because we tax people to make it possible. We have what we call equal educational opportunity. We did it because we had a political process. We don't take old folk's homes away from them when they go on welfare, we permit them to have welfare and have their home if they need it. We've got some things that we've done by political action, and I submit to this audience that if you want a better government just remember this: politics is the people's business, and when the people don't take care of their business, they get the business.

Mr. Stone: Thank you Senator Humphrey.

Senator Mathias: You asked us what we would do. I want to talk for a minute about what I wouldn't do if I were looking for votes in 1976. Now I'm very grateful for all the votes that I've been given. My father used to say that one was a majority and two was a hell of a majority, and we've always managed to get at least one or two and to squeak through these elections. As Mr. Healy pointed out earlier, I have enjoyed a large degree of support in the black community in Maryland. But there are some things that we ought not to do to try and increase the support at the polls.

Let me just review for a couple of minutes of what has been happening in this country. I think all of us owe Senator Humphrey a tremendous debt of gratitude for the kind of leadership he has given this country since 1948. Very few Americans have done more than he has to improve the quality of life in American cities and to advance the cause of civil rights. But as he said himself just a minute ago, he doesn't always have all Democrats agree with him.

The great advances of the 1960's; the bills that were passed in Congress; the Civil Rights Act of 1964; the Open Housing Bill; the Voting Rights Bill; and all the rest of them were the result of a vigorous bipartisan effort. They happened when a whole bunch of us got together. When we stood outside the jail house door in Selma, Alabama and demanded that Martin Luther King be released, we didn't go around and ask people to give their party registration, or to pull out their membership card, we stood down there because we were interested in seeing right done, and we did it without regard to partisanship.

What I would like to call for tonight is a true bipartisan approach to the problem of race relations in America. We consider foreign policy so sensitive and so delicate that it shouldn't be kicked around in the partisan arena. I say to you that the problem of race relations in America is far more sensitive and for more important to everyone of us who are Americans and we ought to give it at least the careful treatment we give to foreign policy.

I think we ought to renounce, we ought to publicly renounce any of those

dodges and tricks which suddenly play on this issue in the arena of American politics. If anybody in 1976 tries another Southern strategy of the kind we saw eight years ago, I think that person ought to be denounced and I will do it. I don't care who he is of whose party he is in.

It is a great country. There is a great opportunity. There isn't any reason why any American should live on the dole; should be fearful about going to see the doctor when he is sick because he doesn't know he is going to pay the bill; shouldn't live in a house where the conditions are unfit for human habitation; should be fearful that his children can't get an education. These are things we don't have to have in America. If we will really put our heart and soul into trying to make what is wrong right, and what is right righter, I don't think any of us will have to worry about where the votes are coming from.

Mr Stone: Thank you senator. Mr. Fletcher.

Mr. Fletcher: What was that question again?

Mr. Stone: What is the one thing that each of you recommend to these delegates that they can take back to their communities to get out a large black vote?

Mr. Fletcher: Whatever current future we have and whatever future our children and our children's children will have, will depend on how effective we are in the political arena. This is a country which recognizes power. Somehow I would like to see this audience and others develop what I would call a working definition of the power of the vote, so that the person you are trying to persuade to register and to vote, clearly understands his or hers one vote, is in fact power. It is the kind of power that politicians who want to ger elected to office and stay there, respect and will recognize.

I think it is very important also to get a black vote out because I think my party and any other party has to learn there is no way to win the number one office in the country without getting significant support from the black vote.

I was very, very upset although I was a part of the Nixon Administration. I was upset that he could win the 1968 election without support from the black community. It tied my hands. I was even more upset to watch him win the election in 72 with what they called a landslide without any significant support from blacks. Now I understand the trap they are in. They feel why should I vote for them because they don't represent me.

Well just let me say the handful of us who are inside the Republican Party would like to be effective. One of the things we are asked when we finally walk into the oval room or whatever room we're walking into, whether it is the Governor's office or the President's. "If I take this position, if I take that position, we are really talking about votes, Art. How many votes can you deliver?" Usually I stand there and go into the stammering column because I can't deliver.

There is one thing I would like to support Congresswoman Burke on and I'm probably going to be presumptuous here when I say this. But I think it is so important that the browns and other so-called minorities who are fighting over the crumbs understand the extent to which they have common interests in expanding the economy so they can get a piece of the pie.

I would like to see the Urban League, I would like to see this organization take it upon themselves to convince all minorities of common interest. By holding strategy sessions and discussing their common interests, they can understand that the legislation that passed that we worked to get implemented, it is the legislation that was needed to underscore all the civil rights programs that were passed.

I would like to see legislation that is going to make it possible for the major corporations to put employment back into the private arena. I want it back in the private arena. But I want that legislation written so it is very clear that every company which writes a contract must commit itself. Not through some flimsy affirmative action program, but something that is specific and definate. Jobs must result and we don't want to see an increase in the dividends of the corporation while the brothers and sisters are standing at the gateway trying to get into work.

Now if you don't do what you have to do, then it will happen again. I think if you do that, we will begin to see the brothers and sisters get more information, and get more involved.

For God sakes get them involved finally in dealing at the local level. We spend so much time electing presidents we forget that if the money is coming back to the cities, coming back to the states and coming back to the counties, the remedies to our problems are there. So it is very important we begin to vote in all elections, not just the presidential elections, but all local and state elections as well.

Mr. Stone: Thank you Art.

Let me just give you one figure as you walk out of this auditorium this evening, 12%. Black people are estimated to be 12% of the population in this country. In 1972 52% of seventeen million black people old enough to vote voted in the Presidential elections. But 64% of the white voters voted. That is a differential of 12%. Before we as a minority of 12% can achieve racial equality, we must wipe out that gap of 12%.

On the behalf of the National Urban League and its Executive Director Mr. Vernon Jordan I would like to thank this very distinguished panel, Mr. Art Fletchner of the White House, Senator Charles McMathias Maryland, Senator Hubert Humphrey from Minnesota, Congresswoman Ivonne Burke of California and, of course, my distinguished colleagues on the panel, Lovell Dyett of Black News WNAC-TV, Mal Johnson, the White House Correspondent for Cox Broadcasting Corporation, and of course Bob Healy, the Executive Editor of the Boston Globe.

Thank you for being such a wonderful audience, good night and God bless you.

NATIONAL
URBAN
LEAGUE

Wednesday, August 4, 1976 — 9:00 a.m.

"The Right to Safe Communities"

Presiding:

Ronald R. Davenport, NUL Trustee; Dean, Duquesne University School of Law

Guest Speaker:

The Honorable Thomas A. Bradley, Mayor, City of Los Angeles

Discussion Panel

Moderator:

Lee P. Brown, Director of Justice Services, Portland, Oregon

Panelists:

A. Reginald Eaves, Commissioner of Public Safety, Atlanta, Georgia

Sister Falaka Fattah Director, House of Umoja, Philadelphia, Pa.

The Honorable Kenneth A. Gibson, Mayor, City of Newark, New Jersey

Milton L. Luger, Asst. Administrator, Office of Juvenile Justice Delinquency Prevention, Washington, D.C.

Harry Spikes, Para-Legal Staff, Harvard Prison Legal Assistance Project

Mr. Davenport: Good morning. I don't think there's a more difficult job than to introduce someone who's already well known, someone whose career has stood as a beacon of light and hope for blacks and whites throughout this country. I can recall the time when Tom Bradley was first running for high office, and the vicious campaign his opponent, the incumbent, ran against him. I believed at that time, people were saying a black cannot be elected where there does not exist a substantial black population.

I remember the feeling I had of disgust, of fear and concern, and frustration, in talking about the role black people perform or play in this society. So it was with a great sense of happiness a great sense of pleasure that I witnessed his eventual election.

Tom Bradley served on the Police Force in Los Angeles for 20 years, reaching the rank of lieutenant. He had the unique experience of organizing the community relations program for the Los Angeles Police Department. He had a staff of himself and one other officer.

While on the Police Force, he decided to go to law school and finished from Southwestern Law School. He was admitted to the California Bar and opened up his own law office in 1960. Elected to the Los Angeles City Council in 1963, he served there for ten years, until he was elected to his current position.

Mayor Bradley was elected Vice President of the League of Cities and then President of the League of Cities. Since becoming Mayor, he has increased the federal grants coming into the city, established offices of economic development and small business assistance. He initiated the $37 million community development program and formed the City's Commission on the Status of Women.

He has established an outstanding record of programs for senior citizens and handicapped youth. But more importantly than anything else, in terms of his role as a leader, political leader of the City of Los Angeles, is the fact he's there.

Tom Bradley stands for black people and white people and all people, of what the future is for this country and what it will be, the full participation of black folks in our democracy.

Ladies and gentlemen, it is with great pleasure that I introduce to you Mr. Thomas Bradley of Los Angeles.

Mayor Bradley: It is a pleasure to be with you this morning, in this historic city of Boston, and at this conference where we can openly and candidly discuss our past, assess where we are today, and consider what the future holds for us and for our nation.

The topic of this morning's session, "The Right to Safe Communities," is a subject of great personal concern to me, and, I am sure, to each one of you. For without safe communities all the freedoms and rights promised for 200 years become a mockery. There can be no "life, liberty or pursuit of happiness" when we are not secure in our environment, nor when we fear for our safety and that of our loved ones.

137

Ronald R. Davenport

What is a "safe community"? The first attributes which usually come to mind when we consider that subject relate to classic concepts of physical safety: a community free of murder and theft and robbery and rape: a community in which it is possible to take a walk after dark without fear of mugging; a community in which it is not necessary to put bars on ones windows and triple locks on ones doors; a community with responsive law enforcement to protect and serve its citizens.

But a "safe community" is much more than that. A "safe community" is also one in which people are free to live in neighborhoods of their choice without harassment. A "safe community" is one in which all children are free to receive a quality education without the threat of violence. A "safe community" is one where residents do not suffer from economic deprivation and its attendant miseries. A "safe community" is one where business can operate at a profit without unreasonable losses because of criminal activity. A "safe community" is one in which government is not corrupt, but in which it truly serves all the people.

That is hardly a description of most black or low-income communities. And unfortunately it is all too true that these communities, especially black communities, suffer the ravages of crime and social injustice all out of proportion to their number and size in our nation.

Add to this the fact that all too often the crimes against blacks are committed by other blacks: by juvenile gangs who terrorize entire neighborhoods, by unemployed young adults desperate for money, by employees of local businesses who see an easy opportunity to rip off their employer.

Let me describe some situations in far too many neighborhoods and communities in my own city. As I do, remember that the conditions are often far worse in many other cities in the country.

The flight to the suburbs of some businesses and industries has left blocks of abandoned buildings with broken windows and gutted interiors.

As these firms left, they took thousands of jobs — often too far away for the black employees to follow.

The abandoned buildings become attractive nuisances, and encourage more vandalism and destruction. This added to a process of blight and deterioration that had an effect upon the businesses which remained.

The physical and psychological impact on those who remained was devastating.

The nearby residential neighborhoods began to see boarded-up abandoned houses. Those who cared about their property got out, if they could.

The blight swept through entire neighborhoods like a destructive cyclone.

Store after store, shop after shop, business after business — large and small closed or moved.

Sears closed what had been one of its busiest stores after five years of steadily rising losses. These losses were the result of theft and vandalism at their store and a steady erosion of the nearby commercial and residential neighborhood.

That closing had a domino effect upon adjacent smaller stores which both fed traffic to Sears as well as survived off of customers who came to the area to shop at Sears.

The economic loss, direct and indirect, was devastating. The physical impact destructive and the psychological effect indescribable.

The losses through vandalism and fear of crime at night caused most of the theaters and other places of entertainment to close.

Businesses and homes must install iron bars and gates on their windows to be sure their belongings will not be ripped off during the night.

Many large supermarkets have closed or moved out because of staggering losses from shoplifting, bad checks or employee thefts.

Walls and buildings are covered by ugly graffiti.

Schools suffer the typical vandalism and break ins experienced nationwide. I heard last week that the loss from vandalism alone was enough to buy all the books required in all the school systems in the country for a full year. What a waste!

Some schools have become worse than jungles, unsafe for teachers or students, unfit for human habitation and unhealthy for a learning environment.

Gang fights are daily — gang killings number almost a hundred in one city alone.

Such neighborhoods thus become like war time "no man" lands. A place of terror and fear for old and young alike. A community already suffering from blight and high unemployment loses jobs, services and hope.

The process is like a cycle from which there seems to be no escape.

Thousands turn to crime because they have no jobs. Among blacks unemployment is double the national average — and among black youth 16-25 years of age it is as high as 40%.

Thomas A. Bradley

Many can't find jobs because the companies fled to escape the crime. Others can't get a job because they can't read well enough to follow simple instructions. They can't read because they were dropouts or failed in school. Many failed in school because of a lack of motivation or early direction and guidance from home — from parents who were failures before them.

It's apparent that we must face some fundamental truths if we are to break the vicious cycle.

During the past ten years, at least four distinguished presidential commissions appointed to study crime and violence and disorder have all reached essentially the same conclusion: the heart of the problem of violence in this republic is the problem of the urban poor. The national commission on the causes and prevention of violence, chaired by Dr. Milton S. Eisenhower, said: "Safety in our cities requires nothing less than progress in restructuring urban life."

And the President's commission on law enforcement and administration of justice, chaired by attorney general Nicholas Katzenbach, stated flatly that it had "no doubt whatever that the most significant action that can be taken against crime is action designed to eliminate slums and ghettos, to improve education, to provide jobs, to make sure that every American is given the opportunities and the freedoms that will enable him to assume his responsibilities."

Yet we have never taken the recommendations of these commissions seriously. Indeed, exactly the opposite has happened. Under the "law and order" emphasis of the recent years, we have seen the Office of Economic Opportunity dismantled and strewn to the winds; we have seen the unemployment rate rise again and again; we have listened to the rhetoric about the evils of the welfare system; and we have watched helplessly as the poor and the minorities turned from the ballot box with a hopeless shrug and sank deeper into their despair.

In addition to heeding the recommendations of the national commissions concerning the need for social justice, we must listen to what they have warned us concerning the need for reform of our existing criminal justice system. They have said that we must reexamine what we are presently doing, and ask ourselves if it is really working. And if it appears not to be, then they say we must be bold enough to make some changes in order to make the entire system operate as fairly and as effectively as possible.

But not all the philosophical theories in the world, nor larger police agencies, nor all the rhetoric, will give us safe communities. They will come about only when we are realistic about the causes of crime, and when we demand responses that are more than platitudes. No community in this nation can be truly safe until **all** our citizens are safe, safe from the problems of uneumployment and inadequate housing and poor educational opportunities, safe from discrimination and uneven justice.

It's not enough, however, just to say what is wrong. We must say what is right. And we must demand creative, constructive leadership from those who seek our vote. At a minimum we must demand a commitment to the following:

- — **We must demand full and fair employment for all our citizens.** It would be a sorry commentary if history were to judge our generation as being able to provide full employment only when we were engaged in a war. We must find a means to provide full employment while our nation is at peace.
- The second commitment we must demand from our new leaders is a commitment to quality education for all our children. We must consider education to be full preparation for life rather than just learning the mechanics of spelling and arithmetic.
- Which brings us to the third commitment we must demand from our new leaders: decent housing in neighborhoods of their choice for all our people. There are many barriers to open housing other than a lack of financial capacility . . . .
- The fourth thing that we must demand of our leaders is a commitment to the cities and urban areas where crime and unemployment and poor housing exist in massive proportions when the Washington Urban League recently surveyed residents of slum areas to find out what they considered their most crucial problems, 49% named housing and the high cost of goods and

Lee P. Brown

services as their first two priorities. Crime ranked third with 14%, even though two-thirds of the people said they walk their streets in fear of crime.

The inter-relationships here are worth noting. As I have already suggested, high crime drives away reputable businesses and developers; it raises the cost of housing and goods and services. On the other hand, low incomes and a high cost of living coupled with poor housing and a lack of services inevitably leads to crime. We cannot attack these problems separately, we must coordinate our approach.

We must be constructive and exhibit leadership in assuming some responsibility for what happens in our own communities. At the same time we must stand firm in our demands for full and fair employment; for quality integrated education; for open housing; and for equal justice — for ourselves, and for all citizens of this great nation. And we must stand firm in our demand that those persons we help to elect to leadership in this country affirm these same goals. For only then will we see safe communities for ourselves, for our children. Only then will we see the rights we celebrate in this bicentennial year become reality for all Americans.

Mr. Davenport: Tom, on behalf of the Urban League, and Mr. Jordan in particular, I want to thank you for that very excellent address. I won't comment on it, we have a whole panel of people whose job it will be to comment on what was said. The moderator for the panel is Lee P. Brown, Director of Justice Service, Portland, Oregon.

Mr. Brown: It is my distinct pleasure to serve as moderator for this distinguished panel which will respond to the eloquent speech given by the Honorable Mayor Bradley.

I'd like to begin our response to the Mayor's presentation by first of all, introducing the members of the panel. On my far left is Sister Falaka Fattah, Founder and Executive Director of the House of Umoja in Philadelphia.

Among those listed in the 1975-76 edition of Who's Who Among Black Americans is Sister Fattah, who was selected for distinguished service in the field of communications and the humanities. She is a fourth generation descendant of Frances Ellen Parker, first public black writer and anti-slavery lecturer.

She has received numerous awards including the Prince Mason Award, the City of Philadelphia; the Human Rights Award; Black Mother of the Year in 1972 and in 1966 an award for her work in the area of civil rights.

Next is the Honorable Kenneth A. Gibson, currently Mayor of the City of Newark. Mayor Gibson's victory was achieved through unprecedented political unity, sophistication and activity in the black community, coupled with support of white clergy, businessmen and moderates, plus a substantial amount of support from the everyday working whites.

Prior to becoming Mayor of the City of Newark, he was a civil engineer for the Newark Housing Authority and a City Engineer for Newark. The Mayor holds a degree in engineering from the New Jersey Institute of Technology, and is serving his second term as Mayor of Newark. He was recently elected President of the National Conference of Mayors.

Next to the Mayor is Commissioner A. Reginald Eaves, Commissioner of Public Safety for the City of Atlanta. Mr. Eaves is Atlanta's first Commissioner of Public Safety. Born in Jacksonville, Florida, Commissioner Eaves attended Morehouse College in Atlanta, graduating with a degree in economics. He later received a law degree from New England Law School. Mr. Eaves became administrative assistant to the Massachusetts State Senate President in 1959, and later joined the City of Boston School System as both a guidance counselor and mathematics and social science teacher.

He has had a very varied background, having served two years as Executive Director of a Roxbury Boston Youth Training Employment Center. From 1969 to '72 he joined the Mayor's Office of Human Rights in Boston as an administrator. His next position was Commissioner of Penal Institutions Boston, where he served from 1972 until 1974. He has had other positions in the State of Massachusetts before becoming Commissioner of Public Safety for Atlanta.

He has been the recipient of numerous awards recognizing his ability as an administrator and his commitment to the cause of black people.

Next to Commissioner Eaves is Mr. Harry T. Spikes, who was born in Homerville, Georgia. Mr. Spikes' father died when he was six years of age, leaving

his mother and three children. His mother died when he was nine and after that he went to live with his older sister who herself had five children and a fatherless household.

At the age of 13, he ventured into the world on his own and obtained a seventh grade education at a vocational school. During the course of that time, he experienced occasional arrests for shoplifting and other illegal acts.

At 15, he went up to New York, where he took up the use of narcotics. He supported his habit, during the course of that time, again by various criminal acts. As a result of those activities, he has spent about seven years in and out of various correctional institutions.

He is, along with other black inmates, the author of an anthology called "Who Took the Weight." After receiving his GED in one of the institutions, he went on and subsequently obtained a degree in psychology from the University of Massachusetts.

Presently, he serves as a counselor at the Coolidge House and recently assumed the position at Harvard Legal Assistance Project where he's currently employed.

The speaker to my immediate left is Mr. Milton Luger, who is an assistant administrator for the Office of Juvenile Justice Delinquency Prevention of the Law Enforcement Systems Administration of the U.S. Department of Justice.

Mr. Luger became assistant administrator in November of 1975. From 1971 to 1975, and 1966 to 1970, he was director of the New York Division of Youth. Formerly, he was also in charge of establishing and operating that division's youth Rehabilitation Opportunity Center.

We have been fortunate to have received a very eloquent presentation relative to our matter of concern here, "The Right To Safe Communities," from Mayor Bradley. I'd like to beg your indulgence for a few minutes to supplement some of the comments shared with you by Mayor Bradley with some facts which I think are significant to place in perspective the issues were concerned with. Upon doing that, I will ask each of the panel members to make a few comments in response to the presentation of the Mayor.

Crime is a major problem in almost every one of our major cities. It has reached a point that some observers are beginning to describe the crime problem in epidemic terms.

Crime is on the increase. We observe annually the report from the Federal Bureau of Investigation Uniform Crime Report that substantiates that observation.

Although there is a measurable increase in reported crime, we still do not know the exact incidence of crime in America, except it's much higher than that which is ever reported to the police. The recent victimization study conducted by LLEA revealed rape, robbery, aggravated assault and burglary run about three times higher than that reported to the police.

Crime is not evenly distributed in this country. To the contrary, those that can least afford to, pay the highest toll to the crime problems. Blacks continue to be more likely than whites to become victims of crime. Families with annual incomes of less than $3,000 tend to have the highest victimization rate for crimes of violence. Low income homes are more likely to be burglarized than homes with high income. In fact, it is estimated that ten percent of the aggregate family income of black people is lost by virtue of the crime problem.

There are gross inequities in the criminal justice system. A recent study of jails, for example, show 42 percent of all persons housed in such facilities were black. A state prison study revealed in 1973 that about 48 percent of all persons arrested were black.

A disproportionate number of those arrested for crime are young people. The police are not successful in dealing with the problem of crime. 97% of the indexed crimes reported to the police in 1964 were not cleared.

The corrections systems have not been successful in dealing with the people who come into their institutions. A criminal history study of over 2,000 offenders between 1970 and 1974 show 60% of those individuals were arrested two or more times. Fifty percent of the murders which occurred in 1974 were committed by the use of hand guns.

In both murders and aggravated assault, the majority of the victims and offenders know each other, as husband and wives, parent-child, relatives or some other close associate. This substantiates the observation made by the Mayor. Most of the crimes committed within the black community are crimes involving blacks on blacks.

Sister Falaka Fattah

With those remarks, I would then like to turn the program over to our distinguished panel members for their response to the major presentation by Mayor Bradley.

Sister Fattah: When I first heard the title of this discussion, my reaction was that I'm not sure black people are ever going to be safe in America, whether they're in their own communities or in the larger ones. But we will make the attempt. We have to set the goals. I think it is a high goal and one certainly worth the struggle. So in that context and with that understanding, my input to this discussion is a group of C's, such as caring, commitment, courage to confront crime, conviction to basic rights and wrongs, consistency in the fight, communications and currency.

I define caring as the redevelopment of kinship communities where model communal areas are organized to save lives and improve the quality of community life. Development at the grass root level of community councils, composed of elders, school, church, youth, to work on problem solving on a regular basis. Development of a human resource skills bank which would be a network of caring families coupled with professional child care workers, to provide services to neglected youth to divert them from the juvenile justice system. Development of an information bank to deal with identification of services available to the community.

Development of a community fund to provide scholarships to youth contingent upon their return to their own communities for a minimum of at least two years.

Development of a taxpayers town meeting to discuss the community point of view with political representatives of the areas. Commitment to change in revolutionized dedication to rebuild the spiritual, religious and intellectual strength of black people. We parents must have the courage to once again raise our children.

Mayor Gibson: I think one of the things we must do is to really define what a community is. Our panel and our discussion is entitled, "The Right to Safe Communities." But what is a community? In my opinion, a community is not the buildings, streets, lamp poles and all of the other inanimate objects. I think a community is its people. Therefore, a community cannot be safe if its people are not safe, and its people cannot be safe if the criminal justice system operates primarily to protect property.

In my opinion, that's what our system does. Our system historically has been more concerned for and our laws have been developed more for the protection of property and property rights than it has been for human rights. I think the job of some of us who have official positions is to attempt to redirect our system so human rights are more important than property rights.

In Newark, New Jersey, in 1967, we lost 20 people. But everytime I read about the disturbances in Newark, they always talked about the value of the property loss. Of course, they can put a value on property, on television sets and furniture. No one has yet been able to put a dollar value on a human life, and in my opinion, the tragedy in Newark, and other cities in the 60's was the loss of human life, and not the loss of property.

When we talk about our young people, and I criticize them probably as much as anyone else, we must know that they feel and they know that our system, not only the criminal justice part of it, but many other parts of our system is hypocritical. They know those who go to jail are the poor, blacks, Hispanics and other minority groups or those without influence and power. They also know that those with money and power, and influence, commit crimes and actually get away with it.

They know the powerful get us into wars, and they know the poor have to fight and die in those wars. They know many of the schoolteachers, policemen and others who theoretically are supposed to provide us with basic services don't care about providing those services to them or to their families. They know our system is more concerned about crime in the streets thn about crime in the executive suite.

We have to deal not with just rape and robbery and burglary, as I'm sure we all ought to, but we have to deal with bribery and all of the things we read about in the newspapers today that people have gotten away with, and other people have been pardoned for.

We have people who spend many many years in jail for a so-called crime-in-the-streets activity, while people at the higher level of government, higher level of business and many of the other levels of power and influence in our community, never even are charged. If they are charged, they spend very little time, if any, in jail. In

most cases they are pardoned, or there's some kind of plea bargain worked out for them.

So we have to deal with the total system and not just deal with the fact that we have to put locks on our doors. I think the locks on our doors are symptomatic of some of the other ills in our community. We can go on with this one, but I think that just to give it another flavor, we should keep these things in mind.

Kenneth A. Gibson

Mr. Eaves: I get restless when I talk about a safe community, so I wish you would excuse my standing up opposed to sitting. I want to react to a very volatile subject when we talk about safety in our communities. I think Mayor Bradley's paper spoke very eloquently to the causes of crime.

It's important we deal on the national and local levels with that problem; unemployment; better educational assistance; underemployment, etc. I think those points were dealt with very well by Mayor Bradley, and I too believe there is no way for us to have a safe community without dealing with those causes.

But I want to talk about something else not quite as popular, dealing with the causes of crime. If we talk about a safe community, I'm of the opinion we must move simultaneously on the causes of crime itself. I am tired of some of the alibis we hear in our community about the reasons people commit crimes. What I'm going to say is not very popular, and therefore, I don't expect much applause. But I want to tell you, as a law enforcement person, some of the problems I see, and issue to you four challenges out of many I can list.

As a law enforcement agent; I feel sick in the pit of my stomach when an old lady comes up to me and tells me with tears in her eyes, that after working for 40 years, and having lost her husband and with only a few pennies left, that she came home from a second job, trying to survive in this tight economy, only to find her apartment has been ripped off. Someone had backed up to her apartment or to her house took all of the furniture out, and yet no one saw this happen.

A safe community does not end with the government. A safe community does not end with the police department. Safe community is a part and parcel of what you have to give, in protecting yourselves as we move simultaneously to fight crime in our community and the causes of crime.

I believe there are four things we must do in order to have a safe community. Remember, these are coupled with fighting the causes of crime.

One, I am convinced we must return to some very basic principles in our community. We must learn to respect the rights, the property and the life of other people. We used to be fearful of the fact that if we moved to South Georgia, we might be lynched by people. Well we don't have to talk about lynching anymore. All we have to do is turn some folk loose in our community, with a few drugs, and with some wine and you wind up with what I call lynching Nineteen-Twentieth Century style. We rip off one another. We take the life of another individual, as if it were nothing.

Case in point, last week, we had a young man killed because as he walked by a man's car, he spat on the car in conversation. The occupant of the car stepped out and said you spat on my car. He said I'm sorry. The man driving said but that doesn't take it off my car, so he reached in his pocket to get a handkerchief to wipe it off. Somehow the argument grew more heated, and as a result, a young man lost his life. Life means little or nothing to a vast majority of our people because we have moved away from the emphasis on life being important, life being a precious gift from God, life being something we can't create and therefore, we should not take it away. We have got to return to the very basics, respecting the life of another individual, respecting the property of other individuals.

Number two, we have to start setting examples for our young boys and our young girls. We sit around, knowing statistics have indicated to us that young people will spend more hours in front of a television between the ages of one and five, than they will in the classroom in a lifetime. Yet collectively, we do nothing about the amount of violence displayed on the TV set. Even the cartoons are violent. Not too long ago there was show on TV, "**The Rookies,**" I think it was called.

They displayed in that show how a police officer was called on a domestic situation and when he arrived, he was shot down. They played this up for one hour on four different occasions and the very next morning, 5 A.M. in the morning, our police received a call. When the police department arrived on this false call, the police officer was shot at. Imitation of what had happened the night before. And those of you

A. Reginald Eaves

from Boston remember the famous case of the girl who was doused with gasoline, and set afire, imitating a program seen the night before. This violence is displayed constantly to our young boys and our young girls and we do nothing about it.

We also see how our young people are exposed to **"Godfather I,** and **"Godfather II,"** and **"Superfly,"** and we are guilty ourselves of rushing to the box office to see these kind of pictures.

The answer we say, is this kind of entertainment is what we want. Yet we see our young people being programmed to believe the only way you can solve a problem is through violence. If you hear this over and over and over again, then eventually you, as a psychologist would say, the conditional response just sets in.

That's why I am so opposed to these super police stories that we see on TV. Right now we see something that's developing and if we don't do something about, it's going to be devastating our community a few years from now. We see police story after police story, where when the Police officer catches the criminal, the very first thing the criminal does is to draw his gun and shoot at the police. Our young boys and girls who see this are being programmed into believing that's the way you respond if you get caught.

The boy is cornered, the very first thing he's going to do is pull that gun and shoot back at the police. Not being trained like the police officer on TV the police officer will return fire, and that individual will be killed. Then we will get in line and we will protest and we will scream about a police officer killing a 16 year old kid. I say you have no right to protest then, if you don't protest now about them programming the minds of our young boys and girls.

Now we all know what poverty does to our community. We know what underemployment does to our community. As I've said, as Mayor Bradley has said, and as the other panelists have said, we have got to do something about those causes. But at the same time, I think it's important for us to start setting priorities in our community.

One, we have got to say in no uncertain terms, to a perpetrator in our community, I don't care how poor you are, you are going to stop raping our sisters. We have got to say that collectively. And if we don't say it, no one else will. I don't want somebody to come from New Zealand to try to tell me how to solve a problem in my community. I don't want people telling me to stop moving on the brother who will rape a sister in my community. I'm going to tell you like I tell the folks in Atlanta and all over the place. You can tell me he is your brother all you want, but if he rapes my sister, and he is in Atlanta, Georgia, where I have some power, I'm going to arrest him. If you hold onto him, I'm going to take you to jail with him.

Who is my brother, who is my sister? The Afroer? The man who wears the afro, the man who has the clenched fist? Doesn't make any difference to me. If that clenched fist comes down on my head. I don't look at his color. All you say to me is catch that man. I don't look at the color from the outward point of view, I look at it from inward. If a man does not rape my sister, if he does not rip my neighborhood off, then he's a brother. But the moment he rapes my sister, he ceases being my brother. He can be yours.

We've got to set another kind of priority. We've got to say to those folks who will use the alibi of being uneducated that we don't care how ill educated you are. Mister, you are going to stop selling drugs to our boys and to our young girls.

You want to talk about a safe community, that's how you have a safe community.

We ran a survey in one of our schools in Atlanta and nine out of every 14 boys when asked what he wanted to be, said he wanted to be a pimp. He wanted to be a pimp because a pimp has a lot of money in his pockets, rode around in a fine car, dressed up in fine clothes, and more importantly, he lived next door to you and we did nothing about it.

In this capitalistic society, he believes the way to succeed is to have two cars in the garage, fine clothes and a lot of money. That is an acceptable way with him because we accept it. We have got to do something about setting priorities in our community.

I suggest to you that I'm not taking excuses any longer, from anybody when they pistol-whip the senior citizens in our community. Four challenges are a very simple one, it's something I wish the out-of-towners to fool with so people could carry this message back all over Boston and all over the country. It's a very simple one.

194

If you really want to talk about a safe community, I'm going to show you how everyone of you can play a part. If you're not brave enough to turn a man in who's committed a crime, I can understand that. But all of us can talk to five people and I'm not talking about criminals. Talk to professional folk, talk to five people who go to church every weekend, those who shout all over your new shoes and ask them to do one single thing for you and for all of us. Stop buying stolen goods. If the good people in our community would stop buying stolen goods, you would cut burglaries down by 8%.

The problem is you buy a $1,000 stereo set, a color TV and all the other fineries for a $150, and you think you've got a deal. The deal represents no more than the fact that you're buying the goods through your neighbor who lives around the corner who has worked a lifetime to save for it. The irony of it all is when the burglar goes into the barber shop and he takes the order for his next TV set or a stereo, he knows exactly where to come to get it, because he just sold it to you. You can't do anything about it when he steals it from you again, because you had stolen goods in your possession.

So I'm going to ask you, just ask those good folk, those professional folk, to help us make our communities safe again by not buying stolen goods. Thank you very much.

Harry Spikes

Mr. Spikes: I think too often we only consider the victim of a crime. It is my intention to try to convey to everyone in this audience that it's equally important to consider the person who commits the crime. As the Commissioner explained about the old lady who lost her furniture, her lifetime savings. She lost a lifetime savings, and she is a victim of a crime. He's a victim of the crime that society has committed against him, by ignoring him, ignoring his cries for help, and leaving him with a mentality that gives him little alternative, but to steal. So he steals, and he becomes another victim by spending years of his life in prison paying for that crime.

While he's in prison, society goes on about its normal business, and he's there for ripping society off. But what society doesn't understand is that this man is not given proper attention while in prison. He will be more inclined to commit a crime when he comes out and he would again victimize the community.

I feel, as it was said here, most of the crimes on property are committed by blacks in the black community. But most crimes by blacks are committed out of necessity. A black person commits a crime because he needs money, he needs things that are not available to him through the normal channels. We can all get up here and intellectualize and talk about things from a very conventional standpoint, but the nitty gritty of it is that he victimized us because we victimize him by ignoring him.

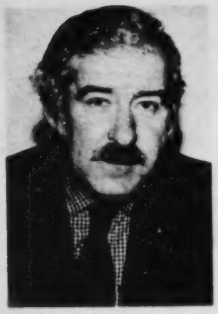
We walk the streets. We see men standing around all the time, drinking wine, we walk on the side of the street, for the simple reason we don't want to deal with these people because these people are raggedy, they're dirty, they're funky, but they are our brothers. We have a responsibility to them to reconstruct their value system, to give their problem attention, and to try to take them into our custody if necessary and show them a better way.

A person who goes to prison, is confronted with very poor living conditions. While I was in prison, we had roaches in our food, we had mice in our cocoa, it was cold during the wintertime, and sometimes we didn't have enough food. Our guards didn't really want inmates to go to school, so when you went to school, you usually had to be prepared for abuse, undue abuse from the correction system.

As a result of finishing school, a lot of people look at you as if you are from some subordinate order. They don't want to deal with you because they feel like doing intellectual work or clerical work in their office.

So I feel we have a responsibility to be responsive to the cry in our community to eliminate crime and curtail crime, but we also have a responsibility to the person when he goes to prison, to see he receives the proper attention, the proper rehabilitative programs established in prison. When he comes back to the community, he wouldn't suffer such a great trauma in re-orienting himself in our society, and living a life that we think is proper and respectable within the boundaries of our social order. Thank you very much.

Mr. Luger: In Mayor Bradley's speech which I consider a very sensitive, compassionate kind of documentation to problems we have, I think he heightened my consciousness in reminding me and I guess a lot of us, that safe streets really does



Milton L. Luger

not mean a police state, that safe streets does not mean adding more police and more surveillance to a community.

But safe streets, if we really want to achieve it, has to be dependent upon those other societal institutions, housing, discrimination, employment, quality education, which are the fundamental things upon which a good community and ultimately a safe community will be built.

He spoke about the unfairness and the inequities of the criminal justice system. I certainly would endorse this concept, having worked in the juvenile justice system which is part of it, for so many years. I frankly have seen so many times how the rich get to go to psychiatrists, to prep schools, and to military academies. The poor kids go the training schools. Those kids are smart and they understand what's at play when certain youngsters who commit certain acts are charged with joy-riding, while others, because of the color of their skin or their economic conditions, are charged with car theft, and a whole sense of unfair application of laws which should be fair and applied equally to all people.

I've seen too in the field, and it's nauseated me, the kind of irresponsibility, of the media. Not only in the television programs which are supposedly for entertainment, but in the newspaper.

Let me give you an example. A year and a half ago, I think it was in the New York Times there was a big article in the centerfold of the paper called "It's All Right if I Rape or Kill or Murder Because I'm Fourteen." It was a long detailed story of two black youngsters who had kidnapped, sodomized and tortured two white kids. That story sent shock tremors through state legislatures, through the entire country. I spoke to the people who wrote it from the New York Times. I spoke to reporters on that paper and others, saying do you see what you're doing? Do you see what you're depicting?

Every youngster who's enmeshed and embroiled in the juvenile justice system, is a black smirking rapist, is what you depicted in this story that's what people believe about kids in the system.

The answer I got was, well violence is my beat, and if I wrote anything else, it wouldn't get much distribution or much play. I think we've got to be very much concerned and acknowledge the fact that the bulk of the youngsters in the juvenile justice system have had more terrible things done to them than they'll ever do to anybody else.

It's about time to stop peddling newspapers off their hurts and their despair. That hardcore of youngsters who are so volatile and who are dangerous have to be confronted. They have to be restrained, they have to be contained. You're naive to think safe streets and safe communities will emerge from letting youngsters like this, irresponsible and out of control as they are, to simply be among use. But that hardcore is much different from most of the other youngsters.

I think, in listening to Mayor Bradley, it reaffirms in my mind too, the fact that we're in a dangerous time as far as communities go. Those who profess liberality throughout the country, through much rhetoric and much pronouncement, until it started to affect their lives, are now through their silence, joining in with the rednecks and the conservatives in saying they're sick and tired of crime.

Let's start waving these young people on to adult prisons and let's start to give them 20 and 30 year terms. Let's forget about rehabilitation or help or any work with them, because all we want to do is, you know, get rid of them and shunt them and forget our responsibility to them.

I think we have to be careful about that as well because young people, as Reggie and the Mayor said so eloquently, learn much through emulation. They see the ripoffs around them, and they see people making bucks off their misery, and they see the lousy example that I think we all see. It's all right if we drink martinis, but you don't smoke grass or it's all right if we do this, and you don't do that. It's all right if we steal and cheat on our income tax and do a lot of other things, but you don't do it. It's such hypocrisy, really.

I see, at the same time, a real important thing that seems to be emerging, when people like Reggie take the responsibility of trying to bring safety and law and order in its proper sense to a community. I don't know whether you heard about it. It might have occurred while you were here and busy with the conference, but a couple of days ago, a man in Harlem was shot to death by the police. He had, I think, shot some neighbor.

When he barricaded himself, the police tried to burst in and he threw lye in their

faces. He blinded a number of them. The black community instinctively put water on those policemen in order to save their eyes. When they were interviewed, they were asked why did you do this for the man? They said we acted without thinking, because it was a person suffering.

I think that kind of instinctive reaction of helping one another is a thing that will give us a sense of community. Without a sense of community, we're not going to have a safe community. Tnank you.

Mr. Brown: We did have a series of questions submitted to which the panel was going to react. But in the interests of time, I will just present to the panel only one question and ask each to react. What suggestions would you give to the attendees here to take back with them in their own communities in the interest of developing positive methods for better means of preventing crime? We start with Sister Fattah.

Sis. Fattah: In my opening statement, I dealt with a concept called the kinship community. I think the easiest way for people to remember what a kinship community is to think back to the way it used to be. It used to be in the black community that if you did something wrong, you had so many beatings before you got home for your Mom to take care of you, that you just didn't do that. You had so many people hanging out the third floor window watching what you were doing. There was no way you could move into somebody's crib and rip it off, take all the furniture out, because it just could not happen in a kinship community.

We have become so sophisticated now that we live in our homes and don't know the person who lives next door to us. That's too much sophistication. What has happened is the kids realize nobody is watching them. Not watching them means nobody cares about them.

Children need limits, they have to know it's important to be home at a certain time. They have to know somebody's going to be there when they get home. People are so busy being entertained, they have forgot they have brought children into the world, which means time and attention.

So I think the most basic thing I can say, and I say it as a person who deals with youth, a person who has raised over 300 children belonging to someone else, and six belonging to me, the most basic complaint that kids have told me is, number one, nobody listens. You hear that, nobody listens. Nobody has time to listen. The other thing is nobody cares. So what you're doing is you're killing your future by not taking care of your children. I can't believe it's more important to go to Mars than it is to take care of our own children.

Mr. Brown: Thank you. Mayor Gibson.

Mayor Gibson: I know time is short and we certainly can't really respond to all of the comments we've had. I'd just like to reemphasize what Reggie Eaves talked about concerning some basic principles that we need to return to. I would question whether or not those people who are affected by the drugs, Reggie, seriously consider we are concerned about them when they know that the drugs are not growing in their own neighborhoods. But the whole situation we have to deal with, and I think again, this question of setting priorities in our communities, has to be done by the people within our communities. I think we can deal with that.

At the same time, we talk about the question of committing crimes in our communities, rapings and assaults. We also have to be concerned about the ripoffs that take place on the entire community such as higher prices for inferior goods, higher rent for inferior housing, and higher taxes for less service.

Mr. Brown: Thank you. Mr. Eaves.

Mr. Eaves: Thank you. I would just reemphasize my fourth challenge to you, which is universal and affects all our communities. I would say to you based on what you heard last night in the political forum, that you issue the same kind of challenge to your national leaders and your local leaders as we move upon this election year.

We had a commitment in this country to catch up with Russia in the space flights. We turned our resources to that and we captured the space flight. We had a partial commitment to poverty that we turned our back on and we failed. We need a national commitment to the eradication of the causes of crime in our communities. If

we can go back and extract that kind of commitment out of the national leaders and our state and local leaders who are running this year, I think we'll take the first step towards resolving that kind of problem. That's going to have to come from the grass roots level, as explained to you last night.

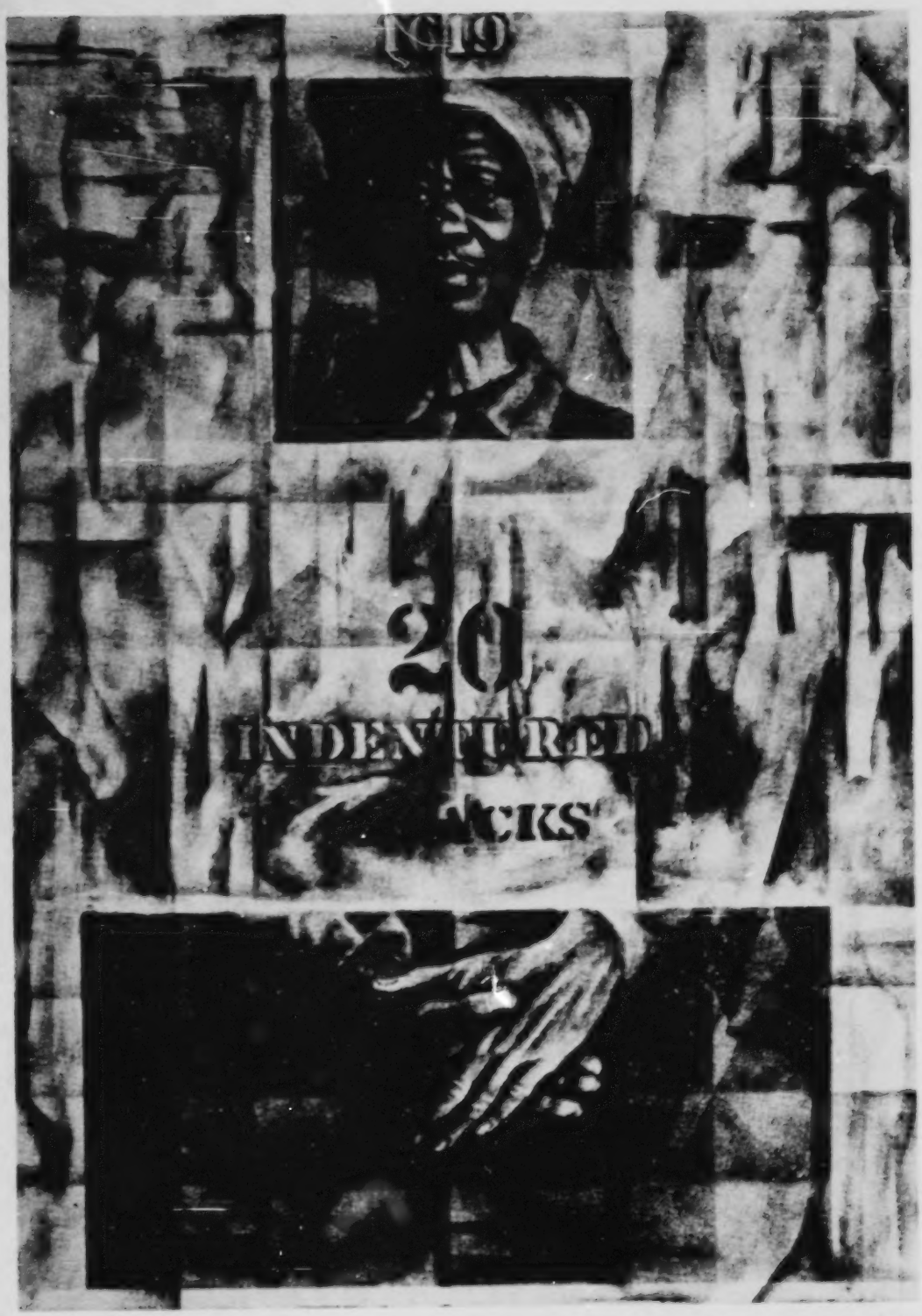
Mr. Brown: Thank you. Mr. Spikes.

Mr. Spikes: I feel one of the greatest measures to prevent crime is to reconstruct our young people's value system. Mr. Luger spoke about the blacks in Harlem who instinctively put water on the policemen to save their eyes. Well, blacks instinctively and innately are very humane people. They are not criminals, not to say any sect of peoples are criminals. But their instincts would guide them if they had some reinforcement. I'm almost sure without any trace of doubt, if blacks were given equal opportunity in America to reach their potential, may it be academic, whatever it might be, that crime in the black community per se would cease.

Mr. Brown: Thank you. Mr. Luger.

Mr. Luger: I can only reemphasize and reinforce what has been said before, just by one quick example. There was an urban-ologist by the name of Oscar Newman who was commissioned to do some studies of public housing and crime in public housing. How it could be curbed? What he really came up with were some physical designs, changes and modifications that could be made. In the bottom line of what he says is exactly what the Sister said. When the young people had a sense somebody was watching, caring, concerned about them, when they didn't have their recreational facilities 14 streets down the block where nobody was there; when citizen patrols and citizen and tenants councils really were formed; when the voice came out loud and clear, we want to have a safe community for our own kids, then it started to happen. In comparisons made with that kind of a housing unit with others, it was a fantastic difference between the disinterest and the crime continuing and the citizen who said it's going to stop, and demanded the kind of support and help from the public sector and the other governmental institutions as well.

Mr. Brown: Thank you. One of my responsibilities as moderator is to keep the program on time. We have reached a point where unfortunately I must bring to a close this session. On behalf of the National Urban League, Vernon E. Jordan, I want to extend sincere appreciation to all the panelists for their excellent contributions to this very important subject, and thank all of you for coming to join us this morning.



150

Conference Dinner

Bishop Carroll: God of the universe. Creator of all existence and life. We thank thee for Thy blessings of the past, even as we seek Thy guidance and help for the future. We pride ourselves on being created in Thine image. This means that even as Thou art the source of justice and righteousness and love, so must we strive for justice, pursue righteousness and live our lives lovingly.

As Thou sustainest all human beings equally, without distinctions of color, caste or creed, so must we give equal opportunity to every man, woman and child on earth.

We do not ask Thee to perform our tasks for us, only to help us perceive our responsibilities and fulfill them. We thank Thee Lord for the food we are about to enjoy. We eat tonight more lavishly than nine-tenths of earth's human cargo. May our gratitude then be expressed not merely in words, but also by sharing generously with those who lack the privileges we possess. We thank Thee Lord in words hallowed by centuries of Jewish life and faith! Praise be the eternal our God, ruling spirit of the universe, who brings forth bread from the earth. Amen!

Mr. McGannon: Thank you. It's a very important custom of the National Urban League to give recognition to those who have labored in the vineyards. Our first couple of orders of business is to bring about that recognition which is so well deserved.

I would first like to call upon Dr. Dan Collins, who is President of the Division of Urban Education for Harcourt Brace Jovanovich and Vice President of the National Urban League, to announce the award of the service pins that were actually received last night at the Quarter Century Club Dinner.

Dr. Collins: At this point in the Urban League's Annual Convention, we do ourselves, as an organization, the honor of venerating those people who have spent at least twenty five years of their lives, either as volunteers or as professional staff in the Urban League Movement. I would like at this time, to name these individuals; ask them to rise as I call their names.

They are: John C. Andrews of Springfield, Massachusetts; Alice Bowman of Westchester; Darred T. Bryant of Kansas City; Lisle Carter, Atlanta, Georgia; Betty Corbin, Omaha; Ara Good of Essex County; Mildred Hawkins of Marion, Indiana; Marion Jackson, Washington, D.C.; Edna M. McGregor of Detroit; Adelaide Macklin of Essex County; Margaret Parsons of Essex County; James E. Paine, Jr., Louisiana; Bertha Risby, Chicago; Emmett Robinson, Springfield, Illinois; Grace Robinson, Washington, D.C.; Essie Rowell, Chicago; Bill Simms of the National staff and Beatrice Cary of Westchester. Let's give them a resounding hand of applause.

Mr. McGannon: Thank you, Dr. Collins.

The second level of recognition is to retirees. Wendell Freeland, attorney at law, and Senior Vice President of the National Urban League, will make this presentation.

Mr. Freeland: Thank you, Don.

The Planning Committee gave me the responsibility to make the presentation to Louneer Pemberton. He's a native of Sioux City, Iowa; has been the Executive Director of the Kansas City Urban League since 1958. He is retiring as of December 31, 1976. A graduate of the Central High School of Sioux City, he received his Bachelor of Arts Degree in 1938 from the University of Minnesota. Thereafter, he earned degrees

Presiding:

Donald H. McGannon, President, National Urban League; President and Chairman of the Board, Westinghouse Broadcasting Company

Invocation:

Bishop Edward G. Carroll, Sr., Pastor, New England Methodist Conference

Presentations:

Service Awards
Ann Tanneyhill Award

Introduction of Guest Speaker:

The Honorable William T. Coleman, Jr. Secretary, Department of Transportation

Guest Speaker:

John Hope Franklin Professor of American History, The University of Chicago

Benediction:

The Reverend James Coleman, Pastor, Concord Baptist Church

in economics and anthropology in 1942 at the same school.

In 1940, like many people who are in the Urban League as a career, he began as a volunteer. That was for the St. Paul Urban League. Thereafter, he became Industrial Relations Secretary in the Kansas City Urban League. He remained Industrial Relations Secretary or Director until 1955, after five years of service in Chicago; stayed in the same field at Dayton from 1955 to 1958, and then went to Kansas City where he has been since.

When he went to Kansas City, the budget was $18,000 dollars. Its present budget is $517,000. His community interest is evidenced by memberships which he holds in many of the organizations of Kansas City and also organizations at the state and national level.

He and his wife, Muriel, have two daughters, Caroline Stokes, who holds a Master's Degree from Chicago, and Gaile Pemberton who is a doctoral candidate at Harvard and a writer for CBS News.

For someone who has been involved as long as Lou and who now retires from the movement, we not only have a pin, but we have a bowl.

Louneer Pemberton, on behalf of the Urban League Movement, I present to you these symbols of our affection and respect for you.

Mr. Pemberton: Thanks to the Urban League for having a great career and working with a grand group of people. I've been waiting on this bowl so I can polish it.

Mr. McGannon: Thank you. Our third recognition, we have the presentation of certificates by Dr. Jean Spurlock, Deputy Medical Director of the American Psychiatric Association and Vice President of the National Urban League.

Dr. Spurlock: May we have Mrs. Margaret Blake Roche and Mrs. Thelma S. Morris to come forward.

It's my privilege to present certification of affiliation to the Urban League of Broward County, Fort Lauderdale, Florida, and to the Metropolitan Montgomery Urban League, Montgomery, Alabama. It's a special pleasure in these early years of the decade of women to present these awards to two women presidents, Mrs. Margaret Blake Roche and Mrs. Thelma S. Morris.

The certifications of affiliation read, "This is to certify that the Urban League of Broward County, Inc., and the Metropolitan Montgomery Urban League are affiliated with the National Urban League, a community service agency, working to achieve equality of opportunity for blacks and other minority group members; signed Donald McGannon, President, Vernon Jordan, Executive Director.

Mr. Jordan: My responsibility is to present an award we present on this occasion of the Dinner of the Annual Conference. The award is the Ann Tanneyhill Award. The Ann Tanneyhill Award was established to honor one of the truly legendary figures in the history of the Urban League Movement. It is presented annually to a member of the National Urban League staff who has served a minimum of ten years and who has distinguished him or herself not only by the quality of service rendered, but by the constant demonstration of commitment to the ideals and principles of the Urban League Movement.

This Award is named for Ann Tanneyhill. Ann Tanneyhill is here tonight. Ann Tanneyhill this year, completes 48 years of service to the National Uban League. Ann Tanneyhill, stand up.

What you must understand about Ann Tanneyhill is that she retired officially five years ago, but has been working for me ever since I've been here. Or better yet, I've been working for Ann, and I like it very much.

If there is any one individual who epitomizes the noblest qualities about the National Urban League, it is this year's recipient of the Ann Tanneyhill Award. This person began his career with us some thirty-odd years ago, and this is the first time in the history of the Ann Tanneyhil Award that the Award has not gone to a female. In previous years, it has gone to Enid Baird, to Cernoria Johnson, to Evelyn Broidy and to Ruth Allen King. But this year, it goes to one who began his love affair with the Urban League 36 years ago. That love has been reciprocated and one would have to travel far to find anyone who would have anything but the kindest words to say about Alexander J. Allen, Deputy Executive Director of the National Urban League.

Joe's real name is Alexander J. Allen, but nobody knows him much by Alexander. We all call him Joe. Joe Allen meets and surpasses all the criteria for the recipient of

this Award. Joe really goes back in League history some 38 years ago, when as a student at the Yale Divinity School, he wrote the late Eugene Kinckle Jones, then Executive Secretary of the National Urban League, about the possibilities of future employment. The response was in the affirmative. The next year Joe began his career as the Industrial Relations Secretary of the Baltimore Urban League. In 1944, he became Executive Secretary of the Baltimore Urban League, a post he held through 1950.

He was named Executive Secretary of the Pittsburgh Urban League and served there nine years. In 1959, he was appointed Director of Special Projects for the National Urban League, advancing to the post of Associate Executive Director under the late Whitney Young.

In 1963, Joe took leave for one year to accept an appointment as Associate Director for Community Development of the Philadelphia Council for Community Development. In 1964, he took over the leadership of the New York Urban League and by 1966, he had become Director of the Eastern Regional Office.

In January, 1972, it was my very great pleasure to be able to offer Joe the position of Deputy Executive Director for Administrative and Public Affairs, in which, like all his League experiences, he has served with distinction. But in addition to serving with distinction, he has served me as sort of my personal social worker because I don't know much about social work. He's been very helpful to me.

Joe is married and has three children, one son, two daughters and two grandchildren. Joe Allen is a strong and compassionate leader with a keen sense of justice, a firm conviction about the purposes of the Urban League Movement and the toughness to weather all storms.

If indeed there is an ideal Urban Leaguer; one who is loved and respected by everybody; one whose recognition is well-deserved, that person is my friend, and my colleague, the Deputy Executive Director for Administrative and Public Affairs, Alexander J. Allen.

Now this Ann Tanneyhill Award carries two things with it. The first thing that it carries is a plaque, Joe, which reads: "The Ann Tanneyhill Award, presented to Alexander J. Allen for excellence and extraordinary commitment to the Urban League Movement. This Award is a check of $1,000.

Alexander J. Allen

Mr. Allen: Mr. Executive Director, honored guests, my very good friends, brothers and sisters of the Urban League Movement. It is a tradition with the Ann Tanneyhill Award that it is kept a secret. Now ever since we've been giving it, I've always been in on that secret. You know, I sort of wondered who was going to get it this year. But never in my wildest dreams did I think that this was going to be something that I'd be standing up here talking about.

Well, I want to thank the Selection Committee which those of us who are close to this organization know, is chaired by the Executive Director. I want to express appreciation in so many different directions. But I'll make it very brief. Particularly to an uncle of mine who resides in the City of Columbus, Ohio, who was the first Executive Director of the Columbus Urban League, now retired. On October 12th of this year, he will be celebrating his 90th birthday. Nimrod B. Allen is the person who first talked to me about the Urban League. I followed in his footsteps in several directions — going to the same school. I followed his footsteps vocationally. It's been rich and satisfying. I certainly appreciate all of these years and I look forward to a few more. Thank you!

Mr. McGannon: The charming lady who sang, Lift Every Voice at the opening of tonight's dinner is a native of Detroit, but now lives in Boston. Her name is Althea Ellis and she's a graduate of the New England Conservatory of Music. She is going to sing two numbers for us this evening; she'll announce these to you and she'll be accompanied by Jay Jefferson Cleveland.

(Singing)

Mr. McGannon: Thank you Althea, that was delightful.

A year ago, on this same occasion, the Annual Conference in Atlanta, I had the privilege of introducing a member of the President's Cabinet. This gentleman, in the intervening year, was awarded the National Urban League 1975 Equal Opportunity Award. Mr. Secretary.

William T. Coleman

Sec. Coleman: Mr. President! One likes to say that! Mr. Executive Director, and friends, I'm the fourth Cabinet officer to come to Mecca this week. But I do not come to seek your votes, nor do I come to explain the policies in my Department. Rather I come to honor a great man. But I would say that when one of my colleagues appeared here, apparently at one point, he caused a little chaos.

I'm reminded very much of the story of the debate that took place among four men, which was trying to determine what was the oldest profession in the world. One said, "Obviously, it's the lawyer, because after all, when Cain killed Abel, you had to have a prosecutory and a defense attorney and judges." The physician said, "Oh no, his profession was the first profession and the oldest profession, 'cause after all, when Adam took out the rib for Eve, you needed a very skillful surgeon. So then, the engineer said, "Well, look at Genesis, remember there was chaos and it must have taken a great engineer to make this world in six days." Finally, the fourth man who happened to be a diplomat said,"Gee, how do you think you got all that chaos?"

The Secretary of State has indicated to me that he just didn't understand the language. I assure you, that he is trying to do a lot in the Department.

When Vernon asked me to introduce Dr. Franklin, it presented three problems. Where to begin, where to stop, and how to do it all in less than five minutes. The first two problems I've solved. But to do full justice to his man's remarkable accomplishments would consume more time than we have this evening. But to stop short of his profound contributions to literature and history or his giant efforts in behalf of black Americans would be a disservice to the millions of lives he has touched, including many of us who are here tonight.

Dr. John Hope Franklin is a man of abundant talents and interests; a scholar, teacher, administrator, writer, editor and distinguished lecturer. To each of these pursuits, he has brought distinction, style and class. But he is best known, most loved and universally admired as a historian. One who records the history of a nation and of a particular people who helped form, make and sustain that nation, and gave it character, style and soul.

He has said that there have been in our past, many black Americans more talented than he, but they went unrecognized because most black Americans were denied knowledge and white America was not prepared to understand or accept them. If I refrain from challenging Dr. Franklin's all too modest personal premise, the least that can be said is that he's done as much as anyone, more than most, to foster that understanding and acceptance.

It was simply a recognition of his scholarly standing that Dr. Franklin was selected in our Bicentennial year by the National Endowment for the Humanities to deliver the annual Jefferson Lecture. A program designed to renew the Jeffersonian ideal of bringing to contemporary concerns the wisdom, knowledge and experience of the humanist.

He was selected from a list of nearly a hundred nominees and for the first time in the history of these lectures, John was requested by the National Council on Humanities to deliver three lectures, rather than one which is traditionally delivered in Washington.

In addition to his Washington lecture, he spoke in Chicago and San Francisco. I can think of no more worthy choice than this man whose unique understanding of the present stems from an even more insightful understanding of the past.

As those of you who know, who've read his great works, "From Slavery to Freedom: A History of the Negro in America," Dr. Franklin's effort is more than a history of a minority group. It is a dual perspective on history. An image of blacks and of this nation. Neither image is complete without the other. In fact, Dr. Franklin noted in his preface, calling for recognition of the importance of the black to the mainstream of American history.

Dr. Franklin, through his research and wisdom, has given us more than knowledge. He's given us pride in reviving the achievements and contributions of black people, the successes and triumphs which an intolerant society chose first to ignore and then to forget. Through this pride has come strength, great strength. The strength which has contributed so much to black America's victories in the struggle for justice and freedom. Yet, John has never been content to be a mere theorist, insisting always on putting his knowledge to work. Dr. Franklin was one of the principal contributors to the decision in Brown versus the Board of Education. I can assure you that to the extent that case turned on a historical perspective of the reconstruction amendments, his

contributions were monumental.

He was called upon early in the summer of 1953, immediately went to work, and a few months later, turned over to Mr. Justice Thurgood Marshall, a complete history of tactics used to circumvent the concepts of equality established by the fourteenth amendment. His report, included in the final NAACP brief, was one of the court's most powerful weapons in outlawing racial segregation in our schools.

Dr. John Hope Franklin

The essayist and critic, John Mason Brown, once wrote that the only true happiness comes from squandering ourselves for a purpose. If this be true, and I believe it so, John Franklin must be the happiest of men for he has given of himself in a variety of pursuits, all for the cause of knowledge and integrity in education. His academic career was as distinguished as his later work. Fisk University, and then Harvard University. He was also at one time the head of the Department of History at the University of Chicago.

Dr. Franklin also has given his time and energies to help foster and direct the talents of young writers. He is general editor of the University of Chicago Press Series of Negro American Biographicals and Autobiographers, a member of the editorial board of the American Scholar and for 20 years has served on the editorial board of the Journal of Negro History.

To list all of his activities and accomplishments would be impressive. But would only serve to further illustrate for those of us privileged to call John Franklin a friend, what we already know. He is a great man. A man who tried to make a difference and one who through courage and determination has succeeded.

I can best sum up my own feelings of John Franklin by citing an observation of Luther Burbank. "Our lives as we lead them are passed onto others whether in physical or mental form and tinge all future lives together." As John orders, conducts his life, he is passing onto others his own excitement and enthusiasm for life. He thus touches all whom he meets and all of us who know him are the better for him. I realized that I've broken every rule in the game by making such a long introduction. But there are times in life where you really have to indicate your appreciation for a man who's done as much for you as any other human being on this earth. I hope you will pardon me, but now I'll give you John Hope Franklin.

Dr. Franklin: In the year of 1976, there has been widespread discussion regarding the appropriateness of blacks celebrating the Bicentennial of the independence of the United States. I very much doubt that the discussion was a fruitful one or even a constructive one. In the end, those who wanted to celebrate the Bicentennial, did so. Those who did not want to, did not do so. Now that the orations have ceased and the fireworks subsided, there remains the quesions of whether this nation, conceived in liberty and subscribing to the proposition that all men are equal, has lived up to its own creed and can conscientiously proclaim itself to be the beacon of light to human freedom and equality for all the world. It is a question which each person, by examining the history of this country, can answer for himself in his own way, regardless of his attitude toward celebrating the Bicentennial.

Meanwhile, I should like to call your attention to a few events in the history of Negro Americans that are, indeed, worth celebrating because they did so much to keep before this nation the ideal of freedom and equality and to keep this nation honest. On September 20, 1830, there gathered in Philadelphia a group of men who had been sent there by their states of Pennsylvania, New York, Connecticut, Rhode Island, Maryland, Delaware, and Virginia. John Wesley Cromwell called them "The forty immortals of our Vallhala." Presided over by Richard Allen, the venerable bishop of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, they proposed to establish a permanent organization which would consider ways and means of helping their destitute and homeless brethren and to unite their forces to safeguard the rights and liberties they themselves still enjoyed. In their "Address to the Free People of Color of these United States," they said:

> Impressed with a firm and settled conviction, and more especially being taught by the inestimable and valuable instrument, namely the Declaration of Independence, that all men are born free and equal, and consequently endowed with unalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, we call on all free colored people to utilize all legal means to raise their status, and the status of the enslaved.

These independent minded black leaders were vigorously opposed to the program of the American Colonization Society in order to achieve stability in the society of the slave states. "We have been born and nurtured on this soil," they declared, "and we, whose habits, manners, and customs are the same in common with other Americans, can never consent to take our lives in our hands, and be the bearers of the redress offered by that Society to that much afflicted country ... Tell it not to barbarians, lest they refuse to be civilized and eject our christian missionaries from among them, that in the nineteenth century of the christian era, laws have been enacted in some of the states of this great republic, to compel an unprotected and harmless portion of our brethren to leave their homes and seek an asylum in foreign climes."

In their address to the free people of color, it is interesting to observe the frequency of the appearance of the phrase, "we as a people," in their appeal for unity, cooperation, and mutual aid. It was "we as a people" who must struggle to raise the moral and political status of their people and to stand united against their enemies, to take advantage of every opportunity and every possibility to increase the wealth and cultural resources of the free people of color, to develop the arts and sciences among them, and open new avenues of employment and new skills.

This first national Negro convention did much to unify the forces and rally various social, religious, educational, and benevolent organizations for a common goal. The permanent group called itself The American Society of Free Persons of Color and it established branches in numerous communities to carry out the plans and the work of the convention. Under the slogan of liberty and equality for all, they proclaimed their rights as citizens and pledged to maintain those rights at all costs. In succeeding years, there were numerous conventions in Philadelphia, New York City, Albany, Buffalo, Rochester, and other cities. There were among the leaders such men as William Whipper, Robert Purvis, Daniel Payne, Henry Highland Garnet, James Forten, Charles B. Ray, and Frederick Douglass. There were among them women such as Charlotte Forten, Sarah Remond, Harriet Tubman, Elenore Watkins, Mary Bibb, and Katy Ferguson. At these conventions some of the most moving and eloquent statements in behalf of human rights ever uttered were made by these men and women. For example:

1. "We rejoice that we are thrown into a revolution where the contest is not for landed Heritage, but for freedom; the weapons not carnal, but spiritual; and where the bow is the power of God, and the arrow the instrument of divine justice."
2. "If we but fully rest ourselves on the dignity of human nature, and maintain a bold, enduring front against all opposition, the monster, prejudice, will fall humbly at our feet. Prejudice, like slavery, cannot stand the omnipotence of Truth."
3. "We ask a voice in the disposition of those public resources which we ourselves have helped to earn; we claim a right to be heard, according to our numbers, in regard to all those great public measures which involve our lives and fortunes, as well as those of our fellow citizens."

It is interesting to observe a full year before the first meeting of the New England Anti-Slavery Society and four years before the founding of the American Anti-Slavery Society. When William Lloyd Garrison was still advocating colonizing blacks in Africa or some other likely place, Bishop Richard Allen of the A.M.E. Church was already calling his brethren together to fight the barbarism of slavery. Before the American Anti-Slavery Society was founded, the free blacks of the United States had held numerous local conventions and four national conventions all with the high objective of wiping out slavery and elevating blacks to the enjoyment of full citizenship. These were the men and women who pointed the way to the realization of the dream of freedom and equality. These are the people whose lives and deeds should evoke our joyous celebration.

Let us celebrate, also, Benjamin Roberts who in 1849 had the courage and the tenacity to attack the school segregation policies of the Boston School Committee. By 1845 Massachusetts Negroes had won virtual political and legal equality, and they could send their children, without discrimination, to the public schools in Salem, New Bedford, Nantucket, Worcester, and Lowell. Only Boston maintained segregation, and the School Committee seemed adamant. "It is useless for us to prate about the conduct of South Carolina," a critic declared, "so long as we maintain —

illegally maintain — a practice here which at least incidentally sanctions it." After nearly four years of unsuccessful agitation on the part of Boston reformers against the segregationist policy of the School Committee, Benjamin Roberts, a Boston black, decided to test the legality of the School Committee's power to enforce segregation. His five-year-old daughter had been refused admission to a white primary school four times; and under the existing policy she had to go past five white schools on her way to the Negro primary school. Charles Sumner, whose distinguished career as a civil rights advocate in the United States Senate was still ahead of him, took the case for the Roberts child. "On the one side is the city of Boston," Sumner told the state supreme court, "strong in its wealth, in its influence, in its character; on the other side is a little child, of a degraded color, of humble parents, still within the period of natural infancy, but strong from her very weakness, and from the irresponsible sympathies of good men ... This little child asks at your hands her *personal* rights."

Despite the fact that Sumner used history, philosophy, literature, political theory, and legal precedents to demonstrate that the state and federal constitutions as well as the spirit of American institutions recognized no racial distinctions, the Court was not impressed. Speaking for a unanimous court, Chief Justice Lemuel Shaw upheld the School Committee's power to enforce segregation. Since Boston provided for the instruction of Negro children, it had discharged its duty. Shaw insisted that the law had not created and could not alter the deep-rooted prejudice which sanctioned segregation. This was a depressing culmination of a long, long fight. But the fight was not over. Inspired by the stand that Benjamin Roberts had taken, Boston Negroes turned to the legislature, and through their Equal School Rights Committee, they pressed for the enactment of a law that would nullify Justice Shaw's decision. In March, 1855, the Legislature approved a bill, that was signed by the governor, prohibiting *racial* or religious distinctions in admitting students to any public school in the state. Thus, for a while at least, school segregation came to an end in Boston. Even as the New York *Herald* bemoaned the prospect that the "blood of the Winthrops, the Otises, the Lymans, the Endicotts, and the Eliots," would in a fair way "be amalgamated with the Sambos, the Catos, and the Pompeys," Benjamin Roberts and his supporters could celebrate their triumph that night in April, 1855, as we celebrate their triumph in this Bicentennial year.

The final decade of the nineteenth century has been accurately described as the "nadir" as regards the place of Negro Americans in American society. Lynching was up; black suffrage was down. Segregation increased virtually everywhere, especially after the Supreme Court expounded the separate but equal doctrine in Plessy v. Ferguson in 1896. Discrimination was rampant, and the general view was that government could not and should not attempt to interfere with established customs and practices. Negroes themselves were in sharp disagreement over what their posture should be; and while the accommodationists had money and prestige on their side, those who refused to compromise with the principles of full equality had more supporters than we once believed. Even during those trying years, there were events to celebrate, the most important of which was, perhaps, the founding of the Afro-American League. Conceived in 1884 by the fiery and highly accomplished editor, T. Thomas Fortune, the League would serve as the central, coordinating force to bring about change in the racial climate of America. Even in New York, Massachusetts, and Connecticut, to say nothing of the Southern states, Fortune declared that "a black man lurks about the doors of theaters and churches, and school houses, reluctant to enter lest his constitutional right to do so be peremptorily denied."

Writing frequently in the columns of his New York *Freeman*, later the New York *Age*, T. Thomas Fortune hoped that a National Afro-American League would be founded that was modeled on the Irish National League and would bring under its aegis numerous local and state organizations from various parts of the United States. Through it, black men and women could fight the suppression of their vote in the Southern states, call for public action against the reign of lynch and mob law, demand the equitable distribution of school funds, fight the indignities and discrimination in transportation and public accommodation, and seek to abolish "the odious and demoralizing penitentiary system of the South, with its chain gangs, convict leases, and indiscriminate mixing of males and females." Fortune proposed to accomplish these objectives by peaceful methods of agitaion, through the ballot and the courts. But, he said, "if others use the weapons of violence to combat our peaceful arguments it is not for us to run away from violence. A man's a man, and what is worth

fighting for." Among the letters of encouragement that Fortune received, one from the young Booker T. Washington stands out. "Let there be no hold-up until a League shall be found in every village," Washington urged. "God Bless you. God bless the proposed League." This was several years before Washington made his celebrated Atlanta compromise speech in 1895.

When, finally, Fortune had worked up enough enthusiasm among the readers of his paper to feel that the time was ripe for action, a call was issued for a convention to meet in Chicago to organize the Afro-American League. The clergy, education, the fourth estate, and other groups were represented among the signers of the convention call. Conspicuously absent were the leading politicans of the day, such as John R. Lynch, John M. Langston, P.B.S. Pinchback, and Blanche K. Bruce. Perhaps it was Fortune's insistence that the League be non-partisan that repelled them. In January, 1890, some 135 delegated from twenty-three states assembled in Chicago. In his keynote address, Fortune said, "We have been robbed of the honest wages of our toil, we have been robbed of the substance of our citizenship by murder and intimidation; we have been outraged by enemies and deserted by friends. And because in a society governed by law we have been true to the law ... It has been charged upon us that we are not made of the stern stuff which makes the Anglo-Saxon race the most consummate master of hypocrisy, of roguery, of insolence, of arrogance, and of cowardice in the history of races. We have been patient so long that many believe we are incapable of resenting insult, outrage and wrong; we have so long accepted uncomplainingly all the injustice and cowardice and insolence heaped upon us, that many imagine that we are compelled to submit and have not the manhood necessary to resent such conduct."

If the delegates had not been clear in their objectives when they arrived, they were quite clear in their objectives after listening to the persuasive address by Fortune. They adopted a constituion that incorporated many of the ideas that Fortune had set forth. The organization was to encourage and assist state and local leagues in their efforts to attain full citizenship and equality. The League was to seek to create a healthy public opinion through the press and pulpit and public meetings and by appeals to courts of law, "the purpose of the league being to secure the ends desired through legal and peaceable means." Almost immediately branches of the League were established in various cities of the North and South, and the founders were fired with an enthusiasm that provided considerable momentum in succeeding months. They seem not to have been daunted by the bitter critics of the League: The *Nation* accused the League of seeking "class legislation." The St. Louis *Republic* said that the convention was the work of a "few Northern Negro agitators" who did not represent the "decent Negroes of the South." The Chicago *Tribune* referred to Fortune as "the New York coon," who had made an "oily" and "tricky" speech and who was in reality working for the Democratic Party.

Within a few years the League or its branches were active in seeking the passage of legislation to strengthen existing civil rights laws or to create new laws. There were numerous instances, moreover, where members took the opportunity to test their rights in cases where they became the victims of segregation or discrimination. Fortune himself was evicted from a bar in New York, whereupon he sued the management and won a settlement of more than a thousand dollars. Reverend W.H. Heard of the A.M.E. Church was evicted from a pullman car and forced to ride in a jim crow coach even though he had a first class reservation. The company, threatened with a suit, agreed to dismiss the offending conductor, reimburse Heard for his ticket, and pay him damages of $250. When Ida B. Wells was fired from her teaching position in Memphis and was then run out of town because she had fiercely condemned the murders and lynchings of blacks there, she was supported by T. Thomas Fortune, who gave her a job on his newspaper, and by other members of the Afro-American League who encouraged her in her crusade against lynching.

More than three quarters of a century after the first Negro convention met in Philadelphia, the National Urban League was organized. It had been preceded only a short time by the organization of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. These two organizations stood in the forefront in the twentieth century in the stupendous task of establishing a base for Afro-Americans to secure a measure of freedom and equality in the American social order. The remarkable zeal and dedication of a W.E.B.Du Bois and a Joel and Arthur Spingarn in the NAACP were matched by similar qualities in a George E. Haynes and a Ruth Standish Baldwin in the National Urban League. The achievements of the Urban League, for

example, in the economic and social welfare fields have been pathbreaking and, at times, breathtaking. Indeed, when the fledgling Federal Bureau of Investigation was trying to fund something to do in the early 1920's, it decided that a fertile field of investigation was the alleged subversive activities of the National Urban League that was attempting to find jobs and homes for blacks who were pouring into the Northern cities in large numbers. *Opportunity*, formerly the journal of the National Urban League, the annual reports and occasional white papers of the organization, and the several historical works on the League bear testimony to landmark achievements of this organization; and I have no intention of recounting them. Doubtless, the stocktaking that has been a part of this annual meeting provides ample opportunity for the uninitiated to become acquainted with its work.

It appears to me that it is important for the stocktakers, both new and old, to place the achievements of the National Urban League and other national groups dedicated to human progress and equal rights in the proper context. The progress that this organization has made had significant preludes. Certainly the "forty immortals of our Valhalla" who met in Philadelphia in 1830 took steps that established in the black community a set of ideals and a set of aspirations that were a prelude to the progress that latter-day civil rights organizations would make. Certainly, Benjamin Roberts and his five-year-old daughter and their supporters in the fight to desegregate Boston's schools and the legislators who finally outlawed school segregation in freedom's bithplace provided a powerful introduction to the progress that would be made in the twentieth century. Certainly, T. Thomas Fortune, William Heard, Ida B. Wells and the scores who were not only members of the Afro-American League but who risked bodily harm and even their lives in their fight for equality were a prelude to the progress of civil rights in our times.

Let it be remembered that these men and women of lofty ideals and iron wills and nerves of steel were the products not of the Enlightenment of the eighteenth century but of the barbarism of slavery of the nineteenth century. They heard no watchwords shouted from the housetops that they were as free and as equal as any of their fellows. Instead, they recieved a barrage of crude and cruel declarations that they were innately inferior, that they had no rights protected by the Constitution of the United States, and that theirs was a hopeless lot to which they should become resigned. Yet, they rose above the perdition to which they were consigned and kept alive the hopes of all mankind, even of their traducers, that freedom and equality could become realities only if they achieved that cherished state. They knew that equality meant nothing as long as it was the exclusive possession of members of a particular race or class or religion. They knew that equality could be a reality only if the most powerful and the most disadvantaged, the poor and the rich, the white and the black shared it as a common attribute.

Let those of us who make assumptions that the struggle for human dignity is an invention of the 1960's or even of the twentieth century shed the arrogance that counsels such false beliefs. Let us recognize the fact that what we have done in our own time, however dramatic and successful, rests solidly on the prelude to progress made by the heroes and heroines of the nineteenth century. It is, I believe, enough to drive the most conceited among us to a posture of humility; and it is enough to give us the inspiration and the encouragement to keep the faith and fight the battle. Let us, therefore, praise the great men and women who made it possible for us to stand in a great tradition of seeking human justice. Let us celebrate their names and their deeds, for it is very fitting that we should do so.

MR. JORDAN:

Thank you, Dr. Franklin.

There were many people who said we shouldn't come to Boston, but we did, and we have had an annual conference that will go down in the annals of Urban League history as one of the most productive and stimulating ever.

The quality of the sessions, the ideas we've produced here, the debates and sharing of views, have all contributed to the Urban League's continuing tradition as America's greatest and most important race relations forum. We've heard civil rights leaders, mayors, senators, cabinet members, scholars, business leaders, and labor leaders, but this conference has been such a success because of the informed dedicated

and committed conferees.

From the vast numbers of ideas and comments heard here this week, I believe we can discern two central themes. The first of these is found in our theme of a new bill of rights that add to the freedoms all of us have in theory, those some of us now have in reality. When economic security and rights to health care, decent housing and others are finally a reality for all, history will record that the Urban League was instrumental in carving out these new areas of inalienable rights for all Americans.

Embedded in our theme is the realization that public policies must change and it is the Urban League that once again is the vehicle for educating the citizenry and our nation's leaders. From this conference have come sound, bold ideas for saving our young people and for helping our black brothers and sisters under the racist rule of South Africa. Out of this conferencs have come solid proposals for helping the cities survive and making Democracy thrive.

And hopefully, we have come to help educate some who were badly in need of education. I know that Secretary Kissinger, for one, left our conference with a new understanding of America's domestic problems and with a new appreciation for black Americans' desire to be included equally in all institutions including the department of state. I am confident that upon his return to Washington he will implement that knowledge through affirmative action policies and through careful consideration of Ambassadorial assignments.

There was a second theme running through our conference, and that was an appreciation of the role the black masses have played in our nation's history and in black survival. In this Bicentennial we chose to stress not the hallowed and gloried names we all revere, but those humble people who rose from the masses to stand, often alone, for the rights of all black people.

Primus King was such a one, and his presence among us this week symbolized the mountains that can be moved by one man, unafraid and alone. And Primus King took his chances with being pitched into the river by maddened racists in order to assert the right of black people to vote. The risk he took and many who lost their gamble with fate in the cause of voting rights remind us that in this year of decision, black people have to get out and vote as never before.

Let us now return to our cities all across the land, let us throw away our clocks and work as we've never worked before to get our black friends and neighbors registered and voting. Let us of the Urban League movement achieve our goal of "76 in '76".

And as we leave this city so redolent with history, this home of revolutionaries and martyrs, let us do so with our eyes lifted up from a tortured past and fixed upon a new era of peace and plenty for all of America's children. Let us march toward a new day as James Weldon Johnson has written:

> "Lift every voice and sing
> Till earth and heaven ring.
> Ring with the harmonies of liberty:
> Let our rejoicing rise
> High as the listening skies
> Let it resound loud as the rolling sea.
> Sing a song full of the faith that the dark past has taught us.
> Sing a song full of the hope that the present has brought us.
> Facing the rising sun of our new day begun.
> Let us march on till victory is won."

Rev. James Coleman: Oh Thou from whom we have come and to whom we must return. We look to Three as the God of the spirit of all flesh and the source of our life and author of all existence. We invoke Three as our loving Father and as guardian and ruler of our destinies. Be Thou mindful of our human frailties and forgive us our breach of spiritual allegiance. Sustain and guide us as we face the unfolding of events in the experience called living. Our portion is often filled with suffering and pain, but Thy love is not hidden from our eyes. A sun and a shield Thou art, giving grace and glory unto those who invest faith in Three. With this assurance, we ask that You bless and keep us, cause Your face to shine upon us and give us peace. Hear us in Heaven and answer us on earth, for we ask these favors in the name of Thy son and our saviour, the Lord Jesus Christ, Amen and Amen!

161

NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE

1976 ANNUAL CONFERENCE

Press Conferences

SUNDAY, AUGUST 1 — KEYNOTE AND BRIEFING

MONDAY, AUGUST 2 — NO ECONOMIC RECOVERY FOR BLACKS

MONDAY, AUGUST 2 — HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT

TUESDAY, AUGUST 3 — THE RIGHT TO EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES: FURTHER RETREAT OR NEW COMMITMENT

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 4 — WRAP-UP OF CONFERENCE

IN MEMORIAM

This section of the Proceedings of the National Urban League's 1976 Annual Conference is dedicated to the late Howard B. Woods, one of the nation's most respected journalists and at the time of his death, Chairman of the Board of the St. Louis Urban League. Mr. Woods suffered a fatal heart attack on August 2, 1976, while attending the National Urban League Conference. Publisher of the "St. Louis Sentinel," and prior to that editor of several newspapers and a high official with the United States Information Agency, Mr. Woods was a dedicated supporter of the League Movement and for a number of years had regularly covered the NUL Conference.

Sunday, August 1, 1976 — 11:00 a.m.

Keynote and Briefing

Participant:
Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.,
Executive Director,
NUL

Mr. Jordan: Before I start, I would like to express my personal thanks and the thanks of the entire Urban League family to Ruby Dee and to Ossie Davis, to Lerone Bennett and to the New Temple Singers of the St. Paul AME Church, for their marvelous participation in our program this morning, over at the Hynes Auditorium.

It did everything that we wanted it to do. It was very exciting and we just have a marvelous feeling from it. Ossie and Ruby are here. There's Lerone right there. It was just fantastic and has gotten the 66th Annual Conference off to a great start.

In my Keynote Address tonight, I will make a number of important proposals. Prime among these is a recommendation for a national full employment program and national youth employment program, whose components would include establishment of the right of young people to jobs and training; elimination of age discrimination; a youth employment agency at the federal level; mass job-creation programs to put young people to work; and urban conservation corps and action by the private sector.

Since this is an important election year, we will talk tonight about the importance of the black vote and call on black people to register; to educate themselves to the issues and to vote. We have a slogan, "76 in '76," which means our goal should be getting 76% of eligible black people in America to register and to vote. Such a turnout would be far higher than the national average and would insure that black people have a powerful voice in determining national policies.

Having recently returned from South Africa, I will discuss the situation there. We are proposing that all American corporations with investments in South Africa come together in a joint declaration we call "the Corporate Alliance for Black Progress." This declaration would include a moratorium on new investments in South Africa, and intentionally breaking the apartheid laws by ignoring nuisance segregation; setting minimum standards of social responsibility each company would pledge itself to; refusing to invest in homeland areas that are the cornerstone of the apartheid policy and issuing a formal statement of disagreement with the apartheid policy.

We think such a declaration could have a strong effect on the government there and could lead to some changes. There is more in the speech, including an appeal to both parties and to major candidates not to make busing a manipulative racial code word, and an issue in the campaign, and to publicly back school desegregation and peaceful compliance with the law.

The Urban League reaffirms its commitment to equal educational opportunity. I'll be happy to answer your questions on the issues and on other aspects of my speech.

Q: It was predicted if the Convention was held in Boston, it would be one of the smallest in the history of the League. Is it one of the smallest?

Mr. Jordan: That has proven not to be true. Pre-registration for this Conference in Boston is the largest pre-registration in the history of the Urban League Movement and we're expecting in Boston, the largest number of delegates in our history.

Q: What's your feeling about holding this Convention in Boston?

Mr. Jordan: We feel we should be here. We have a responsibility to be here. We have a right to be here. We think Boston is a microcosm of America, and that there is no hiding place. In other words, to select another city would be to confront the same kind of problems there, that are present in Boston.

Q: Mr. Jordan, I was told that Jimmy Carter initially was invited to come to the Conference and he was disinvited or uninvited because Reagan and Ford were not coming. Why was that done, if that is true?

Mr. Jordan: Jimmy Carter was not issued an invitation to the National Urban League Conference, nor was any other Presidential candidate.

Q: Why is that?

Mr. Jordan: We do not, in an election year, invite to our national Conference, candidates for national office.

Q: You say if any city needs to hear your message, it's Boston. What is your message and why does Boston have to receive it?

Mr. Jordan: Our message to Boston is a message to America. We believe Boston is a microcosm of America, but presently having a situation that is exacerbated by the busing trauma. We believe our presence in Boston, Bringing more than 8,000 people to this community, talking about equality; bringing four Cabinet officers; bringing people from the public and private sector, speaking to the issues, can have, should have and hopefully will have, some impact on Boston's attitude towards solving the problem it is presently confronted with.

Q: In your speech tonight, you refer to the hope that busing will not become an issue in the Presidential election or in the fall election . . . are you anticipating that it could be?

Mr. Jordan: The speech suggests that both candidates from both parties should reaffirm their commitment to the Brown Decision. Reaffirm their commitment to peaceful desegregation. Reaffirm their commitment to compliance with the law.

The reason we are saying busing should not be an issue is because it is in fact, a phony issue. If you look at the statistics themselves, 51% of the school children in America are bused to school on a daily basis. But only 3% of that 51% are bused pursuant to desegregation or pursuant to court orders.

So what we are talking about is 3% of 51%. That 51% suggests to me that busing in America is as American as apple pie. To make that 3% a campaign issue, it seems to me, tramples on the constitutional rights of little black children, and sacrifices those constitutional rights on the altar of political expedience.

Q: Mr. Jordan, I read a wire report recently in which you said that in South Africa you were opposed to total black control and in favor of blacks having total property rights in South Africa . . . did you say that?

Mr. Jordan: I have not said, under any circumstances, that I am opposed to black majority rule. Number one, I have better sense than that. Number two, it's just not true.

Obviously, majority rule must come in South Africa. But I do not believe you can talk about majority rule until such time those persons who are disenfranchised in that country do in fact have the right to vote so they might participate in the political process and thereby bring about majority rule.

Q: You have called for a corporate alliance, do you also feel those corporations should cease operations in South Africa?

Mr. Jordan: I do not advocate withdrawal of those corporations presently in South Africa.

Q: Have you put out any feelers and what kind of response have you gotten to your suggestion.

Mr. Jordan: This is the first time we've gone public with the suggestion. We're interested to see what the response is going to be.

Q: Could you just explain why you went to South Africa and in what capacity?

Mr. Jordan: I went to South Africa in my capacity as a director of the Xerox Corporation. I went to South Africa in that capacity because in the three years I've been a member of that board, I have been concerned about American corporate presence and decided the best way for me to get answers and determine for myself what the situation is, was to go. I went just a couple of weeks ago.

Q: Mr. Jordan, is the League, in any way, trying to influence or pressure the Secretary of State with regard to U.S. policy toward Africa?

Mr. Jordan: We always choose to have some impact on public policy-making. Hopefully, we can and we will. Hopefully, we have had some impact on American foreign policy as it relates to Africa.

Q: Why is it that you draw a line between a moratorium on future investment and pulling out the present commitment to the country.

Mr. Jordan: I am not prepared, having been to South Africa, having met with hundreds of black South Africans, to say American corporations there should pull out, thereby depriving those black persons there who have jobs. I saw them at their jobs working. I do not believe I can sit here in some reasonable comfort in America and deprive persons of work in the Union of South Africa.

On the other hand, the basis for the moratorium on future investments, is, I believe, a form of pressure on the South African Government. If we withhold future investment, we may possibly get this intransigent racist government of South Africa to move. The fact of the matter is that South Africa as a nation cannot ultimately survive economically without the sweat of black workers.

Q: Mr. Jordan, you're reported as saying about Governor Carter, he will do a lot of things that are cosmetic, he may find it difficult to go all the way for Humphrey-Hawkins but I think his lack of support may go down easier with the brothers if he has just come from praying at Walter Fauntroy's church in Washington.

Mr. Jordan: I said it in Newsweek, I stand by that statement.

Q: Just what do you expect from Governor Carter by way of full employment and Humphrey-Hawkins?

Mr. Jordan: Well, I don't know what to expect from Governor Carter given the fact that Governor Carter is still the nominee. At such time as he becomes President, or at such time that the campaign issues have been formulated, and he has enunciated his policies between now and Election Day, we will have a better idea, it seems to me, of what kind of President, assuming that eventuality, he will be.

Q: Mr. Jordan, because of the President's stance on busing, do you think black voters of America are more apt to go along with Carter?

Mr. Jordan: Black people in America have historically voted their interests, their needs, their aspirations and their rage. I have every confidence based on Mr. Ford's record, based on Mr. Reagan's record, based on Mr. Carter's record, that the black vote will justify my confidence in them and they will act pursuant to their own interests.

167

Q: Mr. Jordan, you talked about some new directions for the Urban League programs and so forth, do you have any major new directions that you will talk about in your speech?

Mr. Jordan: Yes, the big emphasis is on our ideas for a national youth employment program. We believe America is at war with its future, because it is putting on the rubbish heap young people. Young people in America are our future. Some five million young white people are out of work. Some 1.4 million young black people are unemployed. Unemployment in the black teenage community is upwards of 64% according to the National Urban League's, Hidden Unemployment Index. We believe we can not be at war with our future. The future of this country rests with those young people who at this point are out of work, alienated, disinterested, feeling out of it. So we in the Urban League feel a very real commitment to black youth in America. We hope we can, through our advocacy and through our program development be as responsive as resources will permit us to be.

But more importantly, it is our hope that those who make national policy and those who implement national policy, will understand there is no future in America unless we can do something about our young people.

Q: Mr. Jordan, does the Urban League have a program or policy for getting people to register to vote, and is the apathy viewed as nationwide?

Mr. Jordan: First of all, let me say the disinterest in the political process is a problem in America that transcends race. We believe that problem is exacerbated in the black community because of years of historic exclusion of black people both by law and custom from the political process. But we have learned we can, given resources, mobilize the black vote. We can get it to understand the issues. We can get it out on Election Day to vote. We think in 1976, it's more important than ever that the black vote assert itself and get out.

One of the problems we face in this process, and one of the problems most of the major civil rights organizations face is the funds that used to flow from American foundations for voter registration and citizenship education on a non-partisan basis have seemingly dried up. The foundations of America have responded to the negativism in America and consequently there are no funds now for voter registration.

Two years ago, the National Urban League completed a project, a million dollar project, operating in 27 cities. We registered in the North and in the East, a 127,000 hard-core unregistered black people. This year, we have not been able to ferret out any foundation funds for voter registration. But we will not be turned back by the insensitivity and the unwillingness or the timidity of American foundations.

We believe we have to go in our own pockets, dig deep and through our Guilds, black professionals, black people, black middle class in the communities, and to our own resources. That is the approach the Urban League and other major civil rights organizations really have no choice but to take in 1976. I believe we will.

Q: Do you believe this negativism will dry up with time?

Mr. Jordan: I said the other day that in a few short years, we have gone to a posture in America from "we shall overcome" to "we don't care." That we don't care, in my view is representative it seems to me, or indicative of the negativism in the country. There is, I believe, an unwillingness to understand what the civil rights movement and the 1960s was all about. That was a process of defining and conferring rights. In the 1970s, it's a process of implementation of those rights, and American white people seem to have felt that when we got the Civil Rights Act of 1964, and the Voting Rights Act of 1965 and the Housing Act of 1968, and the Executive Orders and the court orders, it stopped there.

Nobody realized that while you may have defined and conferred the right to check into the downtown motel, that in the 1960s you had to deal with not just the right to check in, but the wherewithal to check out. It does appear that at that point of the wherewithal, America has lost interest, does not understand and indeed, does not care.

Look at the jobs bills that have been vetoed; the reluctance of the Congress to deal with welfare reform; the reluctance to deal with national health insurance, all of

which are issues that in fact transcend race. You cannot have a national full employment policy in America and just deal with black people because there are 12,000,000 white people unemployed today and 3 million black unemployed today. If you get a full employment bill, both black and white people will indeed be affected.

So I think the negativism is there. I think people never understood we were dealing with peripheral issues in the 1960s and in the 1970s. We're dealing with those substantive issues that go to the heart of the implementation of what was defined and conferred in the 1960s which was the reason for the theme of this Conference, "Toward A New Bill of Rights." We're talking about extending those basic rights to the right of the cities to survive, to the right of representation, to the right of economic security. We believe these issues are crucial, not only to black people, but to the future of this nation.

Q: Mr. Jordan, what do you hope will come out of this Conference that will have a direct impact on the lives of the dispossessed people in this country?

Mr. Jordan: The most important impact that can come out of this Conference is an impact on public policy and public opinion. We believe if we can disseminate the kind of facts that are included in our Keynote: the kind of facts that Dr. Andrew Brimmer, Dr. Andrew Billingsley, Dr. James Haughton, and Mayor Tom Bradley will be setting forth, we believe if America hears it and listens, and if the Congress is responsive, it will reflect itself in a changed national policy. A policy that is more responsive to the needs and aspirations, here again not just of black Americans, but of all people in need.

Q: Mr. Jordan, has a special task force been appointed to spearhead your proposal for a national youth employment program?

Mr. Jordan: No special task force is needed for that. We have a program department, directed by Ronald Brown, Deputy Executive Director for Programs and Government Affairs. Operating under him is a Department of Economic Development and Community Development and it is there that the basic proposals for the national youth employment program were developed. It is there that proposals will be taken to various funding sources to do something about the issue. It is from that office, that the advocacy for the national youth employment program will carry forth.

Q: What about the programs for the adult employment program; do you have a report on that?

Mr. Jordan: That is not to say when we talk about the national youth employment program we are ignoring 26.1% unemployment in the adult black community. That is not ignoring the fact that most black families that need welfare, do not in fact, get it.

Last year, in our Conference, we talked about the problem of adult unemployment and we talk about it a bit tonight. But we're emphasizing that youth unemployment is as important as adult unemployment certainly as we look toward the future. Last year, we advocated a universal credit refundable credit income tax which went to welfare reform. It's basically an income maintenance system and we advocated a policy for a national full employment piece of legislation.

So we have not neglected adult unemployment, it is obviously still a problem. But I think America is yet unaware really of the serious program of youth unemployment.

Q: How have you done in what you asked for last year; did you get any of that, all of that, or part of that?

Mr. Jordan: Well, we think the response to the CIT program of income maintenance program of the Urban League has beem absolutely incredible. More and more Congressmen — even conservative Congressmen — are coming around to the fact that a guaranteed minimum income is probably the way out of the morass. The problem is we have not had the kind of creative and courageous leadership to take this force through the Congress. Maybe it had something to do with the election year. Hopefully, after the election, regardless of who is elected, we will begin to see some movement towards guaranteed minimum income, a national full employment policy, and a national health insurance.

Q: In your new Bill of Rights, you advocate the right to a job and the right to an education . . . interesting to note that both of those rights are written into the Constitutions of the People's Republic of China. Do you think there's a distinct possibility that some conservative might accuse the Urban League of introducing communist ideas?

Mr. Jordan: Well, I don't think any enlightened Congressman would do that. We thank you for being with us and we'll see you tonight.

* * *

Monday, August 2, 1976 — 11:00 a.m.

No Economic Recovery for Blacks

Participants:

Robert B. Hill,
Director of Research,
NUL

Andrew Billingsley,
President,
Morgan State University
Baltimore, Md.

Mr. Williams: The press conference this morning is to release a report on the Socio-economic status of blacks, entitled, "No Economic Recovery for Blacks." The participants in this morning's conference are Dr. Robert B. Hill, the Director of Research for the National Urban League, and Dr. Andrew Billingsley, President of Morgan State University.

Dr. Hill will have an opening statement.

Dr. Hill: Nothing illustrates the need for a comprehensive full employment program that guarantees a job to all Americans who want to work more than the current figures on black unemployment. For despite the recent improvement in the general economy, that improvement has not reached the black community.

Black unemployment remains at the same crisis level today that it was during the height of the Depression, 1974-75. Today, as then, one out of every four black workers is unemployed. Data compiled by the National Urban League Unemployment Index places the unofficial unemployment rate for blacks in the second quarter of 1976 at 25.4%. Moreover, the official unemployment in black poverty areas is, in fact, increasing. During the first and second quarters of 1976, joblessness among blacks in poverty areas rose from sixteen to 17.3%, which was higher than the second quarter of 1975, when the Depression reached its peak.

But the most alarming statistics are those related to the continuing increase in the rate of joblessness among black teenagers, particularly those in poverty areas.

Officially, unemployment among black teenagers increased from 43 to 53% between 1975 and 1976 with our NUL unofficial estimates going up to 64% of all black teenagers during the second quarter of 1976.

The impact of the current situation on both black and white families has been severe. In fact, the ratio of black to white median family income declined from 58% to 57% in the past year, while the rate of separation and divorce among white families increased 20% during the period 1973-1975.

It is clear the steep economic decline of 1974-75 has had a devastating impact not only on the employment status of black and white workers, but on their family stability as well.

What is needed is a renewed commitment to full employment for all Americans who want to work. Welfare is not the answer. We need an end to this preferential mistreatment of blacks and other minorities.

I have accompanying me, Dr. Andrew Billingsley. As indicated, he is presently the President of Morgan State University. But he is also the foremost exponent on black families in America. I asked him to accompany me in terms of his being able to respond to a number of the questions which you may ask so that we might be able to give you as much insight with respect to a number of the dynamics in relationship between the economy and black people. At this time, I'll be glad to respond to any questions.

Q: What does this prolonged unemployment in black areas do to the potential of the black community, over the years, over the next several generations?

Dr. Billingsley: It, of course, saps the very energy of the community because employment and income are the keys to not only family stability, but community stability as well. This prolonged downturn, sliding off of economic well-being is likely to have a devastating impact on the black community. It is likely to exacerbate the problems and the tensions in that community which is why, as Bob Hill said, an employment program is critical.

I think one of the most devastating statistics is the one that says between 1975 and 1976, the relative income disparity between white families and black families is increasingly wider. So there's a need for a policy that would reverse that sliding gap and also elevate the level of income stability for all American families. As Dr. Hill points out, this tremendous economic insecurity is having a very bad effect on the family stability of white families as well.

Q: If there is no change in official policy for the better, what would the black community look like in one or two or three generations?

Dr. Billingsley: It's hard to be sure. But there are now young men approaching 30 years of age who have been out of school since they were 16, and have never had a job. We are in danger in this country of developing a permanent jobless sub-society, unless we can develop meaningful work for everybody who is able and willing to work.

The potential of people who can't find work permanently are just too dangerous, I think, to imagine.

Q: With the Humphrey-Hawkins Bill currently in Congress setting a level essentially of three percent unemployment, how far do you think that will go to alleviating the unemployment problem in the black community? Because predominantly among that three percent will be black workers . . . .

Dr. Hill: I think the idea in terms of the Humphrey-Hawkins Bill would be at least beneficial and certainly in the right direction. I think the whole concept of the Employment Act of 1946 was never in reality a commitment to full employment. This would at least set some type of initial commitment of the nation to full employment.

I must also say it is targeted toward adults and there are other pockets, particularly in the black community, which still would not be dealt with adequately.

Of course, teenagers, youth are left out pretty much in the Bill, completely as far as a set target, so we would also be concerned about that, as Mr. Jordan indicated last night in his Keynote, in terms of the need for full employment for full employment for young people. So, we think at least the passage of the Bill would be at least an initial step in the right direction.

Q: In your research, did you intend to find out why during a time when the economy is beginning to step up a little bit, the economic health of the black community is going down?

Dr. HILL: There are two factors, as the study noted. Both black and white have been impacted in this economy. If you look at past studies of economic recessions, whenever whites are in a recession, we've always been in a depression. What has also happened is that many whites have been impacted by this, but blacks have been impacted disproportionately. So when we speak of a state of economic recovery, blacks still seem to be not benefiting. This has always been a regular, traditional cycle of so-called periods of recovery. Blacks are the last to catch up in terms of any recovery.

Q: Is there a strong inference that the employment delivery system is incapable of meeting the needs of Americans in general and the black community in particular?

Dr. Hill: I think it is certain that the delivery system is not really targeted toward those who are last in need and most disadvantaged.

Dr. Billingsley: It's not so much that the system is incapable, but the system is not functioning adequately and it needs to be revised in a way to give priority to where the need is greatest. The racial discrimination factor operates very strong in both the decline and the recovery in the economy and we need to do something about that at the same time we're trying to lift the whole level of economy.

Q: What is really meant by hidden unemployment facts?

Dr. Hill: This is the formula the Urban League developed over a year ago and it is different than the official unemployment definition of the Labor Department. The Labor Department leaves out people who want to work, but have been so discouraged because they cannot find jobs that they've dropped out of the labor force.

The Urban League has taken the Bureau of Labor Statistics numbers and added it to the unemployed, discouraged workers and another group of persons who have part-time jobs, but indicate that they want full-time work. It's really those two components that add up. We have, more details in terms of the actual methodology, but the unofficial rate is usually double the official rate for both black and white.

Q: The reason I raised this question is your methodology has been questioned somewhere as to how you arrived at your figures. Did you go out as a survey team, or how was it done?

Dr. Hill: We have tried, as much as possible, to use official data. It just happens these are numbers collected by the survey of the Labor Department, but they keep them separate from the unemployed. We've just taken their own numbers and added them back into the unemployed count.

Q: You are going on the basis that there is an economic recovery. I'd like to know what basis do you have there actually is an economic recovery taken place?

Dr. Hill: We're not making the assumption there is in fact an economic recovery. That's just a term that's used because, in the public mind, there appears to be the GNP and all the other so-called leading indicators, supposedly are showing that there is an economic recovery. I think if you read my writing here, we don't consider there is an economic recovery.

Q: Dr. Hill, do you have any suggestions for implementation of your study?

Dr. Hill: Last year, the Urban League proposed an Income Maintenance Plan. We would like to see many of those elements adopted. We also proposed a program with respect to full employment.

Q: Is there anything that the government can do to influence private industry to open up jobs in particularly depressed markets?

Dr. Hill: I think we really have to talk about a real commitment on the part of the nation for full employment and affirmative action for all. I find this a little more difficult if we have the kind of government inaction and really passive type of response with respect to the lack of true affirmative action, that we have now.

Now of course, what we've gotten has been through suits, brought by outside groups. I do think the pressure has to be on both private and the public sector. You're right though that the majority of workers are in the private sector. But I think again we have to talk about a commitment and there's gotta be a national commitment with the will to mean equity for all.

Q: Have you noticed, Dr. Hill, any attempt on the part of industry or government to destroy affirmative action, do away with it?

Dr. Hill: Well, it's not a matter of destroying. It's a matter of whether it will be enforced consistently in the first place. The level of affirmative action in this society, both in government and industry, has not reached a substantial level and there has been some turning back on it. But I don't think we ought to assume we have reached a level of full equality at the end of the sixties, and it's now being destroyed. We

have never really quite reached that goal. I think both government and industry need to keep moving toward the goal of affirmative action even as we try to expand the opportunities for workers in the total economy.

Q: You advocate full employment, but at the same time, the public works bills and any such bills will mean that there will be a lot of make-work opportunities for skilled people. What will that do to the moral fiber of the black family when we're trying to give the breadwinner some status of dignity and ability to support his family in the area in which he's trained?

Dr. Hill: Well, in my view, there is no need for make-work. There's enough to be done in this society to develop it, to reconstruct it, that you can develop meaningful jobs in all sectors of society, and that's the goal. The goal is to develop meaningful work so people can keep learning, keep progressing and keep developing. But I must tell you, I don't know what you mean by make-work. For people who are unemployed, it is better to have a job, even if everybody doesn't agree the job is essential, than not to have a job.

What we mean by full employment is meaningful endeavors, and there is so much that needs to be done. We're talking about all members essential in the functioning of the family.

Q: There are those who argue that in the capitalistic economic system, it is impossible to have full employment. I don't mean in terms of the Humphrey-Hawkins Bill, but in the literal sense of the term. How would you respond to that argument?

Dr. Hill: I think we can't be too much taken in by the classical economists. We've been told it was impossible to have high unemployment and high inflation at the same time. Well, somebody better tell the economy that we do have high unemployment and high inflation. It's always the trade-off notion, and I think we just have to throw that out of the window. Past experiences show, we have had low unemployment and also low inflation. When Roosevelt implemented the New Deal, we have examples of it, so it's not to say that it cannot exist.

I think the difference was we had a commitment, at that time. I mean what that New Deal meant.

Q: I would like for you to comment on the provisions for prevailing wages and then the provision for minimum wage in the Humphrey-Hawkins Bill.

Dr. Hill: The League is concerned about this with respect to the minimum wage. Of course, we are actively trying to give our own input in relationship to it. But I would say we do have a concern about any attempt that would eliminate minimum wage.

Q: Would you cite any other reservations that the black community and others should look at very closely in the Humphrey-Hawkins Bill?

Dr. Hill: I'm not prepared to do that. But our Washington Bureau, directed by Ronald Brown, has been working much more closely with it. I would really hate to give any other comment in relationship to our assessment of the Humphrey-Hawkins Bill. They are much better informed with respect to it.

Thank you very much!

474

Monday, August 2, 1976 — 2:00 p.m.

Housing and Urban Development

Participant:

The Honorable Carla A. Hills, Secretary, Department of Housing and Urban Development

Mr. Jordan: I don't have an opening statement, except to say we're really delighted Secretary Hills could be with us. To the extent that you have questions, why don't you direct them directly to Secretary Hills.

Q: One of the dilemmas we are faced with is the flight of peole and merchants to the big shopping malls, leaving the elderly and the handicapped stranded. Local businesses are finding they are not getting the quality customer. What does the local merchant do and where could he find refuge? Is there money being distributed to local people to help establish, help reinforce their business?

Ms. Hills: The problem is very real, with commerce moving out. It isn't only the elderly and the handicapped who are left. It really robs the community. You can't walk and buy groceries nearby or get your clothes cleaned or take care of those necessities of life. You have less regard for your neighborhood. It's less convenient. It's more onerous and pretty soon you may be thinking of moving out. So it is a problem.

I think neighborhood strategies that [illegible] across the land are experimenting with trying to give advantages to existing businesses, to expand or rehabilate with local tax advantages, tax abatements, trying to attract new business back into the community. I think just the efforts to use the funds to make downtown areas more attractive, including street lights and curbing will perhaps make the local businesses think about moving out. They want their environment to be attractive for their customers, and it's rather like a circle. The merchant needs the consumer and the consumer needs the merchants and you have to keep a viable community in units. It is these building blocks that make the city.

Q: Can you use the community development money for lighting.

Ms. Hills: Oh yes. That would definitely be a community development need.

Q: Recently, I heard that many integrated new towns are in serious financial difficulty. In fact, the federal government had to take over some of them. What is the policy pertaining to new communities? . . . Several are in receivership. What is going to happen to them?

Ms. Hills: The policy is to make as strong as possible those new communities which we have already launched. The federal government has given two hundred and eighty million dollars in guarantees to thirteen new communities, and they differ one from another. We have some in which there has been very little development. They were launched in the late sixties and early seventies as a new way of handling the housing, as an alternative to the suburban sprawl.

We are not less enthusiástic about the concept, which has launched at the beginning of an economic downturn. It takes a tremendous amount of front-end money to make one of these projects take up, take off and be economically self-sufficient. So what we have rather than take our dollars which are scarce to lauch any new or additional new towns, we have tried to take our dollars to make stronger and more viable our already existing new towns. The current philosophy is to help those that exist.

The one we did take over had such heavy debt that it was really impossible for it to proceed. So we developed a plan of acquisition in coordination with the local cpmmunity. We're developing something which handles all of the competing concerns of those people in that area.

Q: One of the problems the black community faces is with the block grant program. There's no guarantee that, for example, in Southern states, money is going to filter down to the people that need it. Is there any guarantee in the block grant program the people that need the money are going to get the money?

Ms. Hills: I think we have had good results with our first year. We find the funds have been utilized in census tracts which house minority citizens in substantial numbers. I believe the percentage is 71% and the majority of the funds went into places where the persons were making less than 80% of that area's median income.

I have confidence the program will be more responsive to the poor and the minorities based upon one full year of funding. I believe that to be true because I believe the blacks are gaining a voting force that is really recognized in this country. There are many very able black leaders in our major cities. When you look at our Newarks, our Atlantas, our Los Angeleses, we've got one hundred and fifty two mayors across this land, and that didn't happen because there was no support behind them.

I feel that to go by categories which are just rough estimates of average national problems isn't helpful to the communities, including the poor and the minorities. Maybe as an average, you need water and sewers, but if you have scarce resources, it seems to me the locality ought to pick up the dollars and use it on its greatest needs. We see that happening with the block grants, so I am encouraged. I do believe if there is a problem, groups like the National Urban League, and local elections will highlight what the problems are. We have, I think, good guidelines that require there be no discrimination in the utilization of these funds. This must be certified. I think we have a delicate balance in getting the monies to the people who have needs and yet having guidelines we verify and want. I am very much more in favor of a block grant than I would be of a categorical program.

Q: As a follow-up to that particular statement, what are the instruments for implementing those guidelines, if there are violations? What are the penalties, if there are really serious violations?

Ms. Hills: The funds are cut off, and we have done that. Where we are aware of violation of the federal guidelines, then there simply is no more second-year funding.

Q: Can you give us a few instances where they have been cut off?

Ms. Hills: On what we regard as irregularities, we have had about three instances in this second year funding. There were probably six last year. The communities simply did not get the funds.

Q: Here in Boston, there is a problem where subsidized housing has been planned and funds approved and then the funds were withdrawn. What will be your policies towards deciding whether you will actually grant funds in communities where somebody says there are too many low-income people already?

Ms. Hills: I think it's probably one of our toughest policy issues, because there are balancing considerations on both sides which is true of most tough social issues. We want to expand housing opportunities for all people. We don't want to continue to make a massive federal investment in an area where all of the people are assisted. We like there to be a mix, and we would like people who need assistance to have a

choice of where they would live.

We have that same guideline with respect to racial concentration, where we find a community is heavily concentrated with blacks, we are reluctant to put in another low-income housing project, which on a community profile, looks like it too will draw some blacks, if there are not opportunities for blacks to live in other parts of the city.

Now if there are alternative opportunities which are open and available and there seems to be a demand, we don't let that guideline come between us and the community's desires, only where there are not alternative housing opportunities elsewhere.

So it is one of those balances and there is necessarily strong feelings on both sides of the issue. We are looking at how these guidelines are impacting in Boston right now, particularly with respect to assisted vs. non-assisted families.

Q: Is there something that will be done in public housing ... about deterioration?

Ms. Hills: Well, we use our modernization funds, which are separate, really categorical grants, to assist our public housing projects. We will continue to use those funds for that purpose.

I think one of the things in addition to modernizing structures that we need to have is better management in our public housing projects. Now HUD feels keenly about this. We have given, since I've been at HUD, over six hundred thousand dollars to colleges to train people to be better managers. We have worked with a number of management groups, to try to have them have diplomas and training sessions, to work with people who manage public housing projects. I think we have much to do to improve the whole management concept and that would greatly alleviate the problems which you have mentioned.

Q: Mr. Jordan, would you comment on the remarks that there are adequate federal guarantees that block grant money will get to the people that need it?

Mr. Jordan: Well hopefully they will. We think the issue is one of enforcement and one of compliance. Obviously, that responsibility falls on the federal officials responsible for that administration, and we have every confidence that under Secretary Hills, we're going to get it.

Q: Will there be a trend toward concentrating on just elderly and families? Will there be a mix eventually putting all kinds of people in developments?

Ms. Hills: Well, as you know, there are mixed social views on how well the elderly mix with say large families. There have been some frictions, perhaps emanating from the generation gap which sociologists have talked about.

But as far as a community addressing the needs of elderly, handicapped, large families and family housing, we require they proportionately address those concerns. In other words, they cannot just pick up all of their housing allocation and say this year we're only going to address the needs of the elderly. We feel if they have identified needs for all groups in their housing assistance plan, then they must give some consideration to each one of these groups, and that is one of the requirements.

Thank you.

Tuesday, August 3, 1976 — 11:00 a.m.

The Right to Equal Employment Opportunities: Further Retreat or New Commitment

Participants:

Ronald H. Brown, Director, Washington Bureau, NUL

Betty Adams, Assistant Director, Washington Bureau, NUL

Mr. Brown: The Report we are releasing today, "*The Right to Equal Employment Opportunities: Further Retreat or New Commitment,*" Prepared by the Washington Bureau of the National Urban League, examines that retreat from the perspective we have witnessed in the public, private and governmental sectors of this country, and poses recommendations to reverse this trend.

We find that throughout the nation, there is a great deal of counterproductive discussion which appears to be intended to divert usually law abiding and responsible people from the real issues at hand. Increasingly we hear that observing the tenets of affirmative action may have all kinds of negative consequences. Baseless propositions including whether or not the federal government even has the right to use its contracting authority to achieve an end required by the law are being discussed.

That such discussions are taking place more than a decade after passage of the historic Civil Rights Act of 1964 is indeed tragic. Slow and painful progress towards the achievement of affirmative action began in an expanding economy and small gains were made. Then came a change of national leadership, a redirection of national priorities, closely followed by the recession and a national preoccupation with the state of the economy.

The forward thrust of policies and practices to achieve affirmative action in employment has been reversed. The Congress ignores the problem, the executive branch has withdrawn the efforts of enforcement agencies are void of commitment, the courts are overburdened and a major part of the private sector watches directionless.

The Congress itself is not an equal opportunity employer. Its self-granted exemptions from the provisions of Civil Rights legislation makes a mockery of equal employment opportunity. Rather than leading the way by serving as a model, they have chosen to ignore the letter and spirit of the laws they encact for the rest of the nation.

There has been a total lack of leadership from the White House. The executive branch of government has taken the position that economic recovery is the number-one priority and if in the process, certain segments are disproportionately affected, then so be it. Equal employment opportunity is now on the back burner, while the nation seeks to recover its economic health.

Likewise, the labor and business communities more concerned about the reverberations of the economic crisis than affirmative action, have retreated at a time when courageous action and creativity are needed more than ever. The impact of layoffs on minority workers is devastating, and the conflict between seniority and affirmative action has been exacerbated by those who take a position that a choice must be made between the two. Labor and management have not committed their collective energies and resources to the development of creative alternatives to the elimination of systematic discrimination. The last hired continue to be the first fired.

The discussion paper presented here does not contain any panaceas. It does contain an analysis of the state of the arts and several recommendations which we

believe can lead us from inertia to action.

- First, the establishment of a broad-based blue ribbon panel to review existing data and findings on the current status of equal employment opportunity enforcement activities throughout the federal system and to develop recommendations to the White House for amore effective and workable mechanism.
- Second, that the Congress take immediate steps to subject itself to the requirements of the civil rights laws they passed for the rest of the nation thus becoming, for the first time, an equal opportunity employer.
- Third, that all federal agencies with equal employment opportunity enforcement responsibility be ordered by the President to take immediate steps to correct the known documented deficiencies in their enforcement and compliance efforts.
- Fourth, that national organizations and civil rights advocates, including those in the labor and business communities, establish as their number-one priority the total commitment to affirmative action.

The issuance of this discussion paper at this time, should be taken as an indication of the National Urban League's commitment to the elimination of employment discrimination. We have pledged to use our broad contacts in government and industry to halt this retreat. We're now prepared to answer any of your questions!

Q: Do you have any figures to back up your assertion that equal employment opportunities are at a standstill in regards to affirmative action?

Mr. Brown: We certainly do. We have been reviewing for the past year now, what we see to be a declining pattern. We have really determined the declining pattern is due principally to the total lack of leadership and lack of commitment for achieving equal opportunity goals.

I'd like to ask Ms. Adams, who is the principal author of the Report, to respond specifically to questions about how those figures are reflected in that decline.

Ms. Adams: If you begin by looking at the employment pattern within the federal agencies themselves, there is a table in the Report which points that out. But as examples, overall minority employment is at a standstill.

The rate of increase in minority hiring has declined over the last several years. There is an underrepresentation in the upper levels of job categories and an overrepresentation at the bottom level. Within certain job clasiifications, for example, there are in the federal service over eleven thousand attorney generals. Of those, three percent are black. There are over nineteen thousand criminal investigators. Two percent of those are black. There are over over fourteen thousand Internal Revenue Agents. $^{3}/_{4}$% of those are black. And the rate of increase has slowed.

Q: Would you comment on the Humphrey-Hawkins legislation and similar bills like the one recently passed over the President's veto?

Mr. Brown: Well, first on the Humphrey-Hawkins Bill ... the National Urban League has supported that legislation from the beginning. We think it would be a tremendous aid to increasing employment opportunities, not only for minority Americans, but for all Americans.

I think we are concerned though that we not find it easy to use the excuse that affirmative action has to take a back seat when employment, and the economy are not flourishing. We don't think it is fair to black people and other minority people who have had to bear the burden of racism and employment discrimination in this country for many, many years, to tell them they need to wait until the economy moves into better shape or until more job-creation programs are created in order for them to get a fair shake in the arena of employment.

So we support the Hawkins-Humphrey Bill, but we say there needs to be a recommitment to affirmative action even before new employment creation legislation is passed.

Q: Do you also support the provisions within the Humphrey-Hawkins and similar legislation for abolishing the minimum wage laws?

Mr. Brown: We have great problems with abolishing a minimum wage law. The National Urban League has always taken the position that there should be strong enforcement of minimum wage laws. We have taken the position even when suggestions have been made: there ought to be a lower minimum wage for youth and we continue to oppose those particular provisions and suggestions.

Q: How much is racism a factor?

Mr. Brown: Oh, racism is a principal factor in employment discrimination, but again, I go back to the issue of lack of leadership. Just about ten years ago, we had a President of the United States who was saying we shall overcome. In his daily actions, he was setting the kind of example through appointments to high offices, through pronouncements to chief executives of major agencies of government, which in fact, forced them, and put pressure on them to move to employ blacks and other minorities.

We now have an Administration which at least by its actions, is saying we don't care about affirmative action. WE DON'T CARE ABOUT EMPLOYMENT DISCRIMINATION. That is what I'm talking about when I mention leadership.

There's a story that's told about Robert Kennedy, when he was Attorney General. He came into the Justice Department and he said: "Where are all the black attorneys?" The Assistant Attorney Generals indicated to him they couldn't find any who were qualified. Attorney General Kennedy told them, if there weren't a certain number of blacks in the Justice Department by a certain date, they would have to find other employment. By that certain date, they found some qualified black attorneys. That's the kind of leadership, the kind of commitment, the kind of courageous action that is necessitated now more than ever when we have a period of economic decline.

Q: This lack of leadership though, is not neutral?

Mr. Brown: Well, in this area, neutrality is pack of leadership. In this area, silence is lack of leadership. I think we need strong assertive action on the part of the President of the United States, on the part of all those who have a responsibility for equal employment opportunity and for affirmative action.

Q: Your statement acknowledges that there is a conflict between seniority in affirmative action, however, it infers a choice need not be made between the two. Would you say that labor-management have not put their creative energies towards dealing with them? Do you have any suggestions as to how that conflict can be resolved?

Mr. Brown: I think that first of all, we have to say we believe seniority is a hard-won right. We do not believe it should be thrown out the window. By the same token, we do not believe we can continue to live with last-hired, first-fired. What that statement suggests is that there are compromises that can be made. We believe strongly that when labor and management sit down together, when the parties to the collective bargaining agreement sit down together, they can work out those compromises. We think work sharing is a kind of compromise that can come from those discussions. It has been done, it's been tried and succeeded in many areas.

In New York, for example, with the New York Telephone Company, there was an option of either laying off four hundred workers, most of whom were members of minority groups and were recently hired, or having two thousand workers going on a four-day work week. The parties to the collective bargaining agreement sat down and agreed among themselves, as should be done, that they would choose a four-day work week so as not to have to lay off completely.

I think there have also been discussions about how we can better use unemployment compensation insurance. We've been suggesting for some time that there ought to be ways to change the law so that unemployment compensation can be used to supplement income. So people who agree to go on a four-day work week can then receive a supplemented income. That is not possible now under the present law.

180

Q: Have you got another example like the telephone company example of the unemployment compromise?

Mr. Brown: I don't have one with me, but we have a variety of examples where those kinds of compromises have taken place.

Q: On the state level?

Mr. Brown: On the state level and locally. We actually advocate that the negotiations take place at the local level. But again leadership is a question. That kind of leadership needs to be asserted where we make those kinds of suggestions, where we don't assume that there is an irrevocable confrontation between seniority and affirmative action. But we agree that compromise is possible.

Q: What is your perception of the nature of President Ford's lack of leadership?

Mr. Brown: Well, I think his lack of leadership should not surprise us. If you look at the President's record, while he was in Congress, I do not remember any major civil rights legislation that he was ever in the forefront of advocating. There has never been a good deal of interest or attention to the subject and problems of the needs and aspirations of black and minority group and poor people.

So I think it's basically a lack of attention. I don't think it's any ill-will or any malice of forethought. But I think a lack of attention is just as bad as ill-will when it means the kind of situation that we're faced with now is allowed to continue.

Q: Is there a danger of alienating a traditional ally with affirmative action? The Jewish community has been vocal against affirmative action whenever it includes quotas.

Mr. Brown: Certainly, there's always that danger, when you take a strong stance, of alienating friends. I think we have to take that risk. I think we have to be in consultation with our traditional allies, the Jewish community, organized labor and others. But I think this issue is of such great concern and deals with really turning back the clock on the meager gains we have made and that we have to be willing to run that risk.

Q: Putting your remarks in consonant with the remarks of the Research Department yesterday, you say today the Administration, to a large extent, has abandoned affirmative action in favor of economic recovery; the Research Department said yesterday, that there has been no economic recovery, so what the Urban League seems to be saying is that the Administration has definitely retreated from any kind of commitment that it might have had in the past. Am I correct?

Mr. Brown: I think that's a fair statement. I might indicate there is certainly no conflict between the position that we're taking and the position that the Research Department takes. The Administration has given attention to economic recovery, they have not succedded because they have gone about it in the wrong way. Our view *is* that the tragedy *is* we knew what the consequences of that action was going to be. In fact, we were told by our national leaders that unemployment was going to be used to fight inflation. We chose to accept that as a solution. We fought ourselves right to the brink of economic disaster, right to the brink of depression, what in fact we say is a depression in the black community. So it has not been that the Administration has been ignored, at least in rhetoric, economic recovery. We just don't think the attention has been given in the proper manner.

Q: Ron, following up on Tom Johnson's question, has there been any pressure in open or subtle forms on the Urban League to soften its stand on the issues of quotas as a temporary panacea?

Mr. Brown: Well, we are engaged in on-going discussions with all of our friends. We have had a number of discussions with Jewish groups. Just last year, the senior National Urban League staff met with the senior staff of the American Jewish Committee. That was one of the issues that was raised. There certainly has not been pres-

sure to the point where we would consider changing our stand. There have been suggestions of compromise and our position has remained steadfast. Without strong timetables, without strong goals, we cannot accomplish the kind of affirmative action requirements that have to be accomplished.

Q: Well, let's reverse it. By the same token, has the leadership of the Urban League attempted to change the posture of some of the organizations that have been opposed, including Jewish and some labor groups like the George Meany group that fought even the mention of the word quota at the mini-convention of the Democratic Party?

Mr. Brown: Well, first let me say, we are not using the word quota extensively. I think that word itself creates the kinds of opposition we don't need. We are principally using the words goals and timetables which we think basically are the same. We have made all kinds of attempts in meetings with organized labor, Jewish groups, through our testimony before the Congress, hopefully through this Report itself, which will be distributed to those who we wish to convince that this is indeed a crucial issue we need their support on. So that's an on-going process of attempting to persuade others to our point of view and not just to listen to their attempts to persuade us.

Q: The Urban League's position on full employment as I've understood it over the years, has been full employment in its literal sense. The Humphrey-Hawkins Bill caters to a ceiling of three percent unemployment, yet you support that Bill. Do you still advocate support for the measures in that Bill or are you satisfied?

Mr. Brown: We support that Bill as a first-step. We don't think the Humphrey-Hawkins Bill is going to solve all of the nation's economic woes; all the employment woes. We do think it is very crucial to establish a basic principle that every American has a right to a job. I think that's what the Bill does, among many other things.

I think when we talk about three percent or two percent or one percent, we have to be mindful of the fact that there is a transitional phase in our employment sector market where people are moving from one job to another. Economists disagree on whether, if you level it at one percent, do you really have full employment, or whether it's one-and-a-half or two or three. We do not wish to get into a debate about that. Our major concern is that even with three percent national unemployment, it might still be possible for there to be twelve or fifteen or twenty percent unemployment in the black community. That is our major concern about the legislation. We feel strongly that measures to assure unemployment is eradicated have to be targeted to those groups who have borne a disproportionate burden from that unemployment crisis. So we are concerned that there might be three percent overall, but there would still be a disproportionate burden borne by certain sectors of our citizenry and that is unacceptable.

Q: It seems to be a contradiction in your support of Hawkins-Humphrey legislation and opposition to change the minimum wage laws since this is an integral part of such legislation. I wonder if you'd comment on that . . .

Mr. Brown: I'm sorry you see it as a contradiction. What I indicated is that we support the Bill in principle. We think it's a step in the right direction. We do not support every single provision. It's a very lengthy piece of legislation. There are going to be numerous discussions on it, hearings on it, we will be expressing our views. But I would like to make it clear that we support the thrust of the legislation, while not being in favor of every single provision.

Q: Do you think the organization should have a responsibility to train people into higher spots and if so, how do you get them to do that?

Mr. Brown: What kind of organization are you talking about?

Q: Just generally, federal government, states . . . .

Mr. Brown: Oh certainly. One of the principal parts and most important parts of affirmative action is not just hiring, but upgrading. The National Urban League and all of our local affiliates have been working for many years to deal with that whole question of upgrading once people get on the job. So it's a very, very important part of any affiramative action policy.

Q: What are some of the suggestions?

Mr. Brown: I think the major suggestion is to have the commitment from the top levels of management in every corporation in America that they will review the employment and personnel records of those individuals who, common sense would tell us, have been discriminated against in the past. To employ all methods to make sure they have opportunities within that corporation.

There are obviously specific training programs that we are not prepared to go into here. Again we go back to Secretary Kissinger's statement last night about qualified blacks. I think the issue is that there are many who are qualified, and we know they're qualified and they're still discriminated against. I think we have to deal with those people as well.

Q: Recently in St. Louis, we inspected contracts that were let by the St. Louis Housing Authority, using federal funds of course, and we found the proper language about affirmative action there. But then we raised the question as to why some of the specifics that are designed to bring about equal opportunity access are not carried out. Who monitors? Is monitoring included in one of the four presentations that you made here?

Ms. Adams: Yes, it is. It's included in the recommendation which speaks to enforcement agencies correcting known deficiencies in terms of their enforcement practices. The Office of Federal Contract Compliance has the responsibility for monitoring the enforcements offices within agencies which contract. The problem that you allude to is one that we have found throughout government. There is uneven interpretation. There is uneven enforcement. There is very little monitoring of contracts. It's typical of the kinds of problems we see throughout the enforcement mechanisms that are required. In a way, it's spoken to, in two of the recommendations. In one, we call on agencies to move now to correct know deficiencies such as the one you mentioned. The other calls for a Blue Ribbon Panel to look at these problems and come up with a better mechanism for correcting it overall.

Q: Do you mean on a national level or are you suggesting local Blue Ribbon Panels?

Ms. Adams: No, we're suggesting on a national level, which would make reccomendations as to how it would be carried out at the national, state and local levels.

Q: But given the present government climate, can you expect the agencies to improve their monitoring? Well, I guess what I'm trying to get at is shouldn't the monitoring be done locally by groups like perhaps the Urban League?

Mr. Brown: Oh yes, I think so. There's certainly no question about the fact that agencies like the Urban League have a major responsibility at the local, state and national levels to do that kind of monitoring.

I'd just like to talk about them for a second. As you know, on the federal level, the Congress of the United States has responsibility for oversight. That's one of the major reasons why we included a recommendation in the Report speaking to employment discrimination that exists in the Congress itself. The data on this is very dismal.

One of the most dismal things is you can't find the data. Almost everything is unofficial. They don't even know in Congress how many minority employees they have. But some of the things we have been able to find out ... The Congress are the ones that are passing the laws and who are responsible for oversights. But of twenty two standing committees in the House of Representatives, there are only fourteen that have any black professional staff.

About one percent of the Senate staff is black. Only fourteen United States Senators even have any black professionals on their staff. Now it seems to me that

kind of situation speaks to, not only lack of commitment, but lack of concern. These are the very people who have oversight responsibility. So we call on the Congress to immediately make sure the legislation they have passed to apply to the rest of the nation, for the first time applies to themselves.

They have exempted themselves from civil right legislation. We think that would be an important first step in sensitizing them and to bringing black and other minority group people into the decision-making process in high level staff positions.

Q: New York City Councilman Herman Badillo, Connecticut State Representative Wilbur Smith, California Representative Ron Dellums, have called for legislation at a local and national level for an urban and state debt moratorium, to alleviate the problems of unemployment, and I wonder why the Urban League hasn't taken a stand on this program?

Mr. Brown: Well, that particular issue, we have not dealt with. We have, of course, been dealing with the whole issue of the tragic situation in our cities. That is certainly one solution. We're not prepared at this particular time though to indicate what our position will be on the debt moratorium.

My feeling would be that the thrust certainly is something that we would probably support.

Thank you!

Wednesday, August 4, 1976 — 11:00 a.m.

Wrap-Up of Conference

Participants:

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr., Executive Director, NUL

Donald H. McGannon, President, National Urban League; President and Chairman, Westinghouse Broadcasting Company

Mr. Jordan: First of all, just let me share with Jimmy Williams, on behalf of Mr McGannon, our President, and myself, our tremendous appreciation to you ladies and gentlemen of the press for the cooperation and the concern that you have shown us as we have tried to implement this 66th Annual Conference of the National Urban League.

I'm prepared to say this was, from our standpoint, one of our most successful conferences. It was one of our best attended conferences in Urban League history. While there was on the part of many people, some trepedation, some fear and trembling, some uneasiness about coming to Boston, and while there was some feeling even in the Boston black community that we should not have come, we did in fact come. We were right to have come. We had a responsibility to do so. The Boston community in every way has been responsive to our presence, warm and hospitable to our convening our meeting here, and there have been no untoward incidents. Our conferees have had a good time in the City of Boston.

We leave pleased and proud that we were able to come here despite the atmosphere existing in the City and have a good Conference. We had excellent cooperation from the Mayor's Office, excellent cooperation from Senator Brooke, Senator Kennedy and Governor Dukakis, for which we are deeply grateful.

Just let me say by way of accomplishments, we think we have made an impact in these past days on both public information and public education as it relates to a better understanding, we think, of the needs and aspirations of black Americans as we look toward the third century. We think we have been successful in defining what we mean by, "Toward A New Bill of Rights." We think we have articulated and articulated well, the extension of the basic Bill of Rights into new rights relating to the right of representation and the right of family security, the right of safe cities, the right to economic security. We think we have carried out our theme well.

We also believe this has been an educational process even for some of those who came as our guests. We think Secretary Kissinger as a result of his experience here, now has a better feeling for the needs and aspirations of blacks. He has a better understanding of those words that cause excitement, cause people to be angered and cause people to interpret the use of certain kinds of words as being antithetical to black interests.

So we think we have had an impact upon the public officials, certainly members of the Cabinet, who have come. By the same token, we are deeply appreciative to the Secretary for coming and making at this National Urban Conference a major policy statement on Africa. A major policy statement that we think is a good statement, a sound statement and a positive statement on behalf of this government, as it relates to the problems of Africa.

We believe our suggestions of a national youth employment program is not only on time in America, but on target. We believe our theme for "76 in '76" is not only on time, but on target for black Americans, as we look towards the November, 1976 election year. We believe Boston was the place to call upon the Presidential can-

didates and all other candidates in this year to publicly reaffirm their commitment to the Brown Decision. To publicly reaffirm their commitment against mob violence in the solution of local problems and to publicly affirm the responsibility of local officials to carry out and implement and obey the law of the land.

From our standpoint, this has been a good Conference. There was one bit of sadness in our Conference, when the President of the St. Louis Urban League, Howard Woods, suffered a fatal heart attack. That was the sad news of our Conference and something we regret very much. I will be representing the Urban League on Friday in St. Louis at his funeral services.

I'd be happy to respond to any questions you might have.

Q: What were the Secretary's comments to you after his experience in the ballroom?

Mr. Jordan: Well, I think the Secretary's comments to me after his experience in the ballroom are a privileged matter, and I don't choose to go into it.

Q: Has he or anyone from the State Department expressed apologies to the Urban League publicly, aside from what happened last night?

Mr. Jordan: There have been no public apologies to the Urban League for what happened, no.

Q: Have they expressed anything at all to the Urban League since his speech?

Mr. Jordan: There is a commitment on my part, agreed to by the Secretary, that in September, the National Urban League, by reason of a meeting that I will have with him, will try to be helpful to the Department of State in not only identifying people, but in working out a process whereby the affirmative action program can at least catch up with other agencies in the government.

Q: Mr. Jordan, from observation, it appears that the attendance in the exhibits, since its opening Sunday morning at ten, after the session, seems to be somewhat of a record. Do you have any idea as to the thousands of people that have come, which I think is significant?

Mr. Jordan: I've not gotten the count of those persons who attended the public session, the session on Sunday morning, the Keynote session on Sunday night, the public session for Secretary Kissinger.

Q: No, I'm speaking about those who've been to the exhibits area in which I saw outside people who just came as guests.

Mr. Jordan: That's right. We do not know. On the average, at every conference, it's about 20,000 people from the local community. I have not talked with Ms. Broidy, so I don't have the number. But we can get the number for you.

Q: How about registration?

Mr. Jordan: The official registration figure, I do not have. I generally get it before I come but I do not have it. Do you know what it is Mr. Williams?

Mr. Williams: I do not know Mr. Jordan, but the figures will be available this afternoon.

Q: Do you still support Humphrey-Hawkins ... especially after Humphrey had supported Kissinger last night, he being the domestic version of Kissinger?

Mr. Jordan: That's your judgment, not mine.

Q: He supported his foreign policy which is genocide, which is cutting off credit to the third world, so that they can't eat. Mr. Jordan, answer the question. Are you going to support the Humphrey-Hawkins Bill?

Mr. Jordan: We are on record as supporting a national full employment policy that guarantees to everyone a decent job at a decent wage. We are on record as having testified before the Congress that the Humphrey-Hawkins Bill is in the best interests not just of blacks and minorities, but of the country; we do in fact support the Humphrey-Hawkins Bill.

Q: If Governor Carter is elected and if the Congress stays Democratic, what do you think should be reasonable work towards your goals for employment?

Mr. Jordan: Well, first of all, we're going to wait and see what the results are of the November election. But secondly, we plan our Conferences through a National Conference Planning Committee. The first meeting of that Committee is in September, at which time we will begin to lay plans for our Conference. We begin the programmatic planning shortly after we get through the physical arrangements.

It is intentional that the National Urban League meet in Washington every four years after the President or a President has been inaugurated. We think that our presence there is in our interests and in the interests of our advocacy and in the interests of what it is we try to do.

Whoever is President, whoever is elected in November, will undoubtedly receive an invitation to set forth his ideas on equal opportunity before the Urban League Conference next year in Washington, D.C.

Q: Mr. Jordan, why didn't the Urban League go on record in favor of the President's candidacy?

Mr. Jordan: The Urban League is a non-partisan, tax-exempt, eleemosynary institution, and we are prohibited by 501c3 section of the Internal Revenue Code from endorsing political candidates or political parties. We've not done it for 66 years. 1976 is no exception.

Q: Mr. Jordan, on Secretary Kissinger's speech the other night, were there any particularly policy commitments that you particularly liked about that, or that you were most interested in?

Mr. Jordan: Well, the concept of majority rule, the concept of economic development, the new emphasis on Africa, which I think was the thrust of Secretary Kissinger's thesis. The United States of America in its foreign policy, will no longer look at Africa as it has looked at Africa historically, as some sort of ghetto in the community of nations.

I think the thrust of the Secretary's statement was the recognition of Africa and all of its differences and all of its perplexities. Africa is now a recognized Continent that must be dealt with as an equal.

Q: Was it in accordance with what the Urban League is supporting?

Mr. Jordan: The only aspect we have addressed ourselves to in terms of Africa was my statement as it relates to South Africa. Last year, at our Conference, in the Keynote, we talked about the fact that Mr. Kissinger had been Secretary since 1969, and had not demonstrated any interest in Africa. There was no positive African policy and his absence from that Continent could be interpreted as our having no policy.

So we think the Secretary's presence in and of itself, was positive. Certainly a step in the right direction in terms of saying to the National Urban League and to black Americans that as Secretary of State, there now is a positive forward looking policy as it relates to Africa.

Secondly, I think we have a responsibility within the leadership of the black community now that the statement has been given and given in this forum, to now look at it in depth and sometime later be responsive to it on specifics.

Q: Are there any obvious differences between the Urban League goals for American policy for Africa and what the Secretary articulated?

Mr. Jordan: Let me just answer by saying that 100% of our activity is domestic. This is the first year we have ventured into the area of foreign policy and we did it this

year based on my comments about South Africa. We do not have a developed position by position situation for Africa and that is probably something we will discuss in our Board Meetings as we move into next year.

Q: If need be, would you go back to Africa?

Mr. Jordan: I plan to go back to Africa. I'm not prepared to say when or under what set of circumstances. But I have a desire to go back.

Q: Mr. McGannon, wearing two hats, as you are in this position as Chairman of the Urban League you have recently gone on record from Westinghouse of becoming very much concerned about crime and violence. As many of us are aware, blacks proportionately, young kids particularly for the wrong reasons possibly are very captive of TV. Has that been reflected to Mr. Jordan in relationship to the Urban League being concerned about black people, the amount of crime and the amount of violence in television?

Mr. McGannon: Well Vernon and I have a free-flowing dialogue on all subjects. I don't recall this being discussed as an item for policy consideration, by the Urban League. It's widely publicized, at least what I said. I don't regard it as being something which is extraordinary or unusual. I think it very much in order that this matter be addressed by our society under the very circumstances you've described.

So in answer to your question, Vernon and I have not talked about it as a matter of the management of the National Urban League per se.

Q: There were many, many workshops and panels and that sort of thing in this Conference, with all the effort being made to get different ideas out of the participants. What happens to some of the suggestions that come out of these workshops and panels? Are there any policy papers that come out? What happens to all the work that goes into Conference, after it's over?

Mr. Jordan: Well there are several processes. Number one, we produce proceedings of the Conference. We take that document and we share it with those who make public policy in this country, those who implement public policy in this country and those who, in fact, influence public policy in this country.

In addition, we share it with all of the media, all over the country, the conferees themselves and that becomes a basis for ideas and programs for whomever.

But in addition to that, the Delegate Assembly of the National Urban League met this morning. That is the constituent body of the National Urban League and we adopted statements of concern, pretty much consistent with what you heard in the Keynote Address. They were topical, relating to various issues as they affect blacks. Those statements of concern become the action agenda for the Urban League for the next year, highest on that agenda for that year, as I announced on Sunday night, is a youth employment development program.

Q: Mr. Jordan, the word busing does not appear in the school integration statement of concern. Yet here in Boston busing has been a very involved issue . . .

Mr. Jordan: I think I talked about busing Sunday night a little bit.

Q: Is the absence of its mention in the statement of concern purposely?

Mr. Jordan: No purpose at all. I think if you look at that statement of concern, it is very clear we recognize busing as a tool to accomplish court ordered desegregation. I'm not sure why the word busing is not there. But we are weary of the use of the word busing and we just think people ought to do what the law says and abide by it.

Q: On your youth employment program, is that going to be funded by the federal government?

Mr. Jordan: We have demonstrated some success at getting federal funding. We hope we can continue that demonstration pursuant to our youth employment program. That was demonstrated yesterday with the Secretary of Labor when he announced some $6,000,000 in programs.

Q: You have just a few months left before the election. Is the Urban League willing to pursue independent of other black organizations, a massive voter registration drive while you're waiting for a more collective type of activity?

Mr. Jordan: Well, we're going to do both. There is operating under the auspices of Eddie Williams at the Joint Center on Political Studies in Washington, a national coalition of all of us, for carrying out voter registration programs. They are meeting to talk about the need for voter registration programs, and we are part of that coalition and we are cooperating with it.

By the same token, given the fact that there will be in this year no huge sums of money granted to either the coalition or to individual civil rights organizations for voter registration, we think we have to rely on our own resources, primarily at the local level, to develop with our own constituency and with our own apparatus, voter registration programs. That is not to say we would not, in a local situation, be cooperative with other local organizations. We always have and we always will.

Q: Mr. Jordan, in view of your belief that the Secretary of State is concerned about the economic development of Africa, how do you account for the fact that he has consistently tried to block a call for a debt moratorium of the Third World? The Black Caucus called for that six months ago.

Mr. Jordan: It's not for me to account for the Secretary's actions. He did present a major paper here on Monday evening, and we think that's a landmark because that has never happened. Now whether it's enough, I'm not prepared to say because we've not given the paper the kind of analysis we think it should have. But certainly it's a beginning and we think it's a good beginning.

Q: Mr. Jordan, calling for no more new investments in South Africa, do you mean no more money should be given to new industry there? Or do you simply mean cuttin off all funds going into existing industries in South Africa?

Mr. Jordan: To advocate cutting off funds to existing industries would be to talk withdrawal. I am not for withdrawal of American corporations presently in South Africa. The thrust of my statement about a moratorium was a moratorium on future investments. By that I mean if you're not presently there, if you do not have operations in South Africa, our suggestion is that there be a moratorium by all American corporations on any future investment.

Q: When you talked about your voter registration project you made reference to the drying up of foundation funds. To what do you attribute that disappearance?

Mr. Jordan: Well, I think as I said on Sunday night, that it is the philanthropic community responding in a negative atmosphere. By that I mean that black people are no longer as active as we were in the 1960s, we're sort of out of style, and because of that, I think the tax reform act of 1969, where there is specific legislation directed at Foundations in the area of voter registration. Foundations have become timid and obviously, unwilling to make a massive commitment to help correct and deal with an age-old problem, that, being the ostracism and absence of blacks from the political process, both legally and by custom.

Q: Mr. Jordan who has made investments in prior years? Can you cite some foundations that did indeed make sizable contributions for voter registration?

Mr. Jordan: Oh sure. The Ford Foundation, the New World Foundation, the Taconic Foundation and I sit as a trustee of the Rockefeller Foundation: the Rockefeller Brothers Fund; and the Carnegie Corporation. Those are the major foundations that have contributed to voter registration campaigns on a non-partisan basis over the years.

Q: To whom did they give that money?

Mr. Jordan: For five years, I directed the voter education project for Southern Regional Council. That was and has been the largest repository of voter registration

funds in the history of this country.

Two years ago, we ran nearly a million dollar voter registration campaign, through the National Urban League. Operating in twenty seven cities, it was aimed at either newly eighteen year olds or, the hard-core, those persons that were really difficult to get at in the voter registration process. We were successful to the tune of a one hundred and twenty seven thousand voters in northern and eastern cities. Since that time, we have not been directly from National Office in the voter registration business.

Our local affiliates, Chicago in particular, has its own mobile unit and has done an excellent job with its own resources as have other units. The problem is that under the Tax Reform Act of 1969, foundation grants to national organizations operating in five or more states. If you look at the legislative history of the Tax Reform Act of 1969, as it relates to voter registration, two agencies are particularly identified, the Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council which I directed and the League of Women Voters.

The other thing that has to take place in that process is you have to get a special tax exemption from the Department of Internal Revenue to conduct a voter registration campaign. You have to demonstrate you have viable operations in five or more states.

The point I'm making is that the process of voter registration has not only been frustrated to some extent by the Tax Reform Act of 1969, but that the Tax Reform Act of 1969 has also made the Foundations timid and as I suggested, unwilling.

Q: On Secretary Kissinger, sir, after hearing him yourself and after your private dinner conversation, what is your perception of his attitude towards the problem of increasing the opportunities for minorities?

Mr. Jordan: From my view, it's a very positive wholesome attitude. I think the Secretary's problem was never one of attitude. I think the Secretary's problem was one of not having anticipated the kinds of questions that he received and consequently was not adequately prepared to be responsive.

Q: And the audience was not aware of what this situation was then?

Mr. Jordan: It really didn't matter whether the audience was aware of it or not. It does matter that the Secretary was not prepared to be responsive.

I have no problem with the Secretary's personal commitment. I don't have any problem with that. The question is the extent to which it's going to be translated into the upward mobility of black people in the Department of State, that is the issue.

Q: Mr. Jordan, the Massachusetts Urban League has recently been rejuvenated with help from the United Way. I was wondering if you had been talking to Walter Leonard about what we might expect to see from the League in Massachusetts now that the National Convention has gone?

Mr. Jordan: Yeah, it's very simple, I think it's really on its way now.

Q: Okay, can you give me some idea?

Mr. Jordan: Well, first of all, it now is operative. It has a full Board that is local and is strong and is committed. It has a new Executive Director in Bob Bowles who is an Urban Leaguer of considerable experience, having been in New Haven for I guess almost ten years.

So we bring an experienced executive, a good Board; we have a sound base, financial base of one hundred thousand dollars, and given the Urban League's reasonable success at grantsmanship, I think that within a year that the Urban League of Eastern Massachusetts will be back to the kind of service delivery unit that it was before we went out of business up here. We're glad to be back.

Thank you very much.

Statements of Concern

PRESENTED TO THE 1976 DELEGATE ASSEMBLY
Wednesday, August 4, 1976
Boston, Massachusetts

Citizenship Education

Black citizenship participation makes a difference! In 1969 there were only 1,185 black elected officials in the United States. In 1976 there were 3,503. Citizenship education, voter registration drives, and the Voting Rights Act of 1965 have all made a difference. Political analysts believe that the black vote made the difference between winning and losing in at least three states for the most successful of the Democratic Presidential primary candidates.

Despite the well-known increase in the numbers of black voters in the last ten years and the obvious improvement in election results flowing from that increase, much more needs to be done in black citizneship education. Despite the improvements, blacks still do not register and vote in the same proportion as do whites. Cities faced with rising black voter registration are resorting to regionalization or annexation of suburbs to dilute black voting strength. Richmond and New Orleans are two prime examples of successful white dominated redistricting which has diluted black voting strength with the approval of the federal judiciary.

We therefore urge the National Urban League and its affiliates to continue to make every reasonable effort to further citizenship education and voter registration. Such efforts should be directed not only to threshold participation in the political process such as registration and voting. It should be directed as well to providing a level of knowledge sufficient to enable black Americans to participate effectively in the activities and organization of a political party of their choice.

PRESENTED TO THE 1976 DELEGATE ASSEMBLY
Wednesday, August 4, 1976
Boston, Massachusetts

Crime and Prevention

The "War on Crime" has been one of the few battles in our history in which the black community has not been enlisted. Some years ago, the Administration prematurely declared a victory in that war. But, then and now, on urban and rural fronts throughout the country, thousands of poor and black people continue to be disproportionately victimized by crime. The lack of black participation in the crime fight has created the false impression that the black community condones crime and protects criminals. Crime prevention, however, is a high priority in the black community.

Officials in the law enforcement field have long recognized the importance of active citizen/community support in crime prevention. Yet, attempts to officially introduce the minority "community perspective" into the criminal justice system have met with indifference, limited technical/funding support and, on occasion, open resistance.

The Urban League has a particular interest in community participation in crime prevention — crime has had a particularly ravaging effect on the black community.

The black community has been mulitply victimized by crime. First, by the disproportionately high incidence of crimes against it; second, by the disproportionate numbers of black men and women imprisoned in a correctional system plagued with inequities and abuses; third, by the ravaging social and economic costs of crime; fourth, by the crime-induced fear and suspicion that permeates our communities at a time when we need community unity; fifth, by the unwillingness of the criminal justice system to solicit and support the input of informed citizens and community organizations; and sixth, by national policies that fail to address the root causes of crime — poverty, unemployment, discrimination, inadequate housing, education and health care.

While we recognize the need to address the root causes of crime, we have a need to engage in relieving the symptoms of crime. For, to an elderly person who is mugged within the inner city, the symptom is the problem.

Therefore, the National Urban League recommends the following constructive strategy to improve the quality of the lives of all our citizens:

1. Increase our demand to share in the use of governmental tax dollars to implement programs within our community to control and prevent crime.
2. Serve as advocate for the needs of the minority community before federal, state, local, regulatory, enforcement and service bodies, commissions and agencies.
3. Provide services to victims of crime.
4. Support strong measures to control the production and distribution of hand guns.

These goals can be fostered through Urban League participation in:

1. Identifying community problem areas and possible solutions.
2. Participating in community action committees and task forces on crime prevention.
3. Reviewing proposed rule and policy changes within the criminal justice system.
4. Developing comprehensive programs to deliver services and technical assistance to the community.
5. Recruiting, training and tutoring candidates for the criminal justice system.
6. Educating the general public as to its role in the crime prevention process.

PRESENTED TO THE 1976 DELEGATE ASSEMBLY
Wednesday, August 4, 1976
Boston, Massachusetts

Economic Development

Last year's recession underscores the fact that the time is opportune to address the needs of minority business in this country. The nation's business has for decades shown a steady upward trend in spite of such temporary setbacks. Minority business, on the other hand, is still largely undeveloped and poorly equipped to withstand the impact of economic downturns.

With blacks hit disproportionately hard during the recession, black businesses which continue to depend predominantly on the black community for their sales suffered heavily. Since blacks are lagging behind in the recovery of the nation's economy, black businesses will be slowest to recover and many will fail.

Due to the nature of America's free enterprise system, minority entrepreneurs will continue to fail in their endeavors unless they are provided access to initial capital for business investments. With many banks and large corporations weakened by the recession and with more and more cities in financial trouble, the only possible solution to the plight of these businessmen and women is access to federally financed loans.

A second thrust to help minority businessmen and women should be geared to a comprehensive education of the business community on the problems of minority business. Minority business persons must, in addition, be counselled on how to protect investments and how to heal ailing enterprises. They could be assisted in these efforts by volunteers from successful businesses across the country.

It is emphasized, however, that nothing short of a concerted national, state and local attack on the problems of minority business can create and sustain the economic climate and the organizational drive necessary to move it into the mainstream of the American Free Enterprise System. Each Urban League affiliate must participate in mobilizing the resources, initiating the contacts, developing learning situations and stimulating capital formation in order to increase the success of existing and future minority business persons. Such contributions will benefit the entire American economy.

PRESENTED TO THE 1976 DELEGATE ASSEMBLY
Wednesday, August 4, 1976
Boston, Massachusetts

Employment

One year ago, the Delegate Assembly issued a clarion call for federal action to ameliorate the disastrous situation created for blacks and other minorities by severe and prolonged unemployment. No action of the scope and vigor recommended has been taken.

It is not surprising therefore that despite the evidence of some recovery in the economy, black communities are barely feeling the affects of the recovery, what with official government figures showing that over one million blacks were still unemployed in March. In addition, we know that those rates still exclude discouraged workers, part-time workers who would like to work full time and workers earning less than poverty level salaries.

Despite a much publicized decline in official unemployment figures, the Labor Department nevertheless reported that 129 of the nation's 150 major labor markets still had substantial unemployment in May. That figure was down only slightly from the high of 135 in September last year. Substantial unemployment was also reported in over 1,000 smaller market areas.

Youths have been the hardest hit victims of the recession. According to official government statistics, the unemployment rate among teenagers in 1975 averaged almost 20%. When this figure is broken down into black and white statistics, it shows that approximately 37% of black teenagers were unemployed, with about 18% of white teenagers out of work. Again, we know that these figures don't include everyone out of work and sophisticated estimates of unemployment of black teenagers in inner cities are closer to 50%. Many of these teenagers will reach adulthood without ever having a work experience. We can no longer waste the vital human resources of our country in this fashion with impunity. We must develop programs of job development and retraining for economically disadvantaged, unemployed and underemployed youth

Such a youth program should be but one facet of a coordinated program of "full employment" and economic reforms designed to abolish the necessity for an unemployment rate, however minimal, as a constant and to guarantee to all able-bodied individuals the all-important job.

Worsening the unemployment picture for blacks is the neglect by government and industry of affirmative action programs designed to overcome the historic evils of racial discrimination. It would seem that governmental agencies have not effectively enforced the laws; that Congress and the President have failed to provide the moral, financial and other support needed by these agencies to enforce the law; that private industry has been defensive and in most cases followed through with affirmative action plans only after pressure and/or litigation.

The National Urban League urges the President, Congress and the governmental enforcement agencies to recommit their moral, legal and financial resources to the immediate and unequivocal implementation of affirmative action programs for all the nation's citizens.

PRESENTED TO THE 1976 DELEGATE ASSEMBLY
Wednesday, August 4, 1976
Boston, Massachusetts

General Revenue Sharing

The National Urban League movement has been monitoring the progress of the general revenue sharing proposal since its passage on October 20, 1972. Many of our original doubts and concerns about the potential impact of the program have been confirmed. We have seen continuous acts of discrimination practiced by revenue sharing recipients. We have seen scarce federal dollars channeled into projects which build golf courses while dilapidated schools stand as hollow educational monuments for the inner city child. We have seen rich suburban governments share in revenue sharing dollars, not because of need, but because they exist. We have seen the majority of these funds channeled into local police departments for the detection of criminal activity, but scant allocations to correct the causes of crime.

Yet, political realities, such as federal funding scarcities in a large number of categorical programs, the lack of congressional direction, and the insensitivity of the national Administration, have led us to the position that perhaps there are some amendatory measures which could make revenue sharing a positive example for other federal programs in addressing the needs of all the people — a program which could, in fact, provide the approach to federal assistance formerly afforded by many of the categorical programs.

In view of the foregoing, it is strongly recommended that:

1. There be continuous congressional oversight and enforcement of the general revenue sharing program.
2. The formulas target funds into communities on the basis of need, in an equitable manner among and between jurisdictions.
3. Citizen participation be an integral part of the general revenue sharing decision-making process.
4. Substantive changes be made in the reporting procedures at the recipient level and at the federal level.
5. Civil rights compliance and enforcement be greatly strengthened.

PRESENTED TO THE 1976 DELEGATE ASSEMBLY
Wednesday, August 4, 1976
Boston, Massachusetts

Health

The American health delivery system is unresponsive to the needs of most Americans and is especially inimical to the needs of poor and minority citizens who suffer disproportionately from illnesses that are compounded by limited economic and physical access to preventive care and comprehensive services.

The need for national health security for all Americans is critical in 1976. While our country is a leader in industrial and technological development, the quality of our health care lags behind other nations with comparable standards of living. In such important health indices as infant mortality, maternal mortality and life expectancy, the United States ranks further behind than it did fifteen years ago.

The infant mortality rate for minority Americans is double that of the rest of the population. Minority persons suffer from high blood pressure at almost double the rate of majority persons. Minority families are about five times more likely to have members suffering from chronic diseases and handicapping illnesses than majority families, and minority persons suffer in larger numbers from drug abuse, alcoholism, venereal disease and mental stresses than any other group in society.

Black and other minority persons are also less likely than other Americans to have adequate insurance coverage with existing medical insurance and/or health plans, or more likely to have non-group coverage which is less comprehensive and more expensive.

The National Urban League believes that health care is a right and feels that a national inclusive program of health security is necessary to provide the support required to insure this right. We must become active advocates, through information and educational campaigns, for a national program of health security for all Americans.

PRESENTED TO THE 1976 DELEGATE ASSEMBLY
Wednesday, August 4, 1976
Boston, Massachusetts

School Financing

The National Urban League is concerned about the fate of the nation's schools as they are affected by school financing methods. The financing of public education relies heavily on local property taxes that place a disproportionate burden on the resources of the poor. Moreover, the disparities between the tax base of school districts and in the tax rate have heightened existing racial and economic divisions in society and at the same time have denied equality of educational opportunity to those who live in poorer school districts.

It is clear that a new system of school financing is needed, one that not only distributes tax monies equitably among school districts regardless of the tax base of the specific district, but more importantly, a system of financing that distributes dollars to schools wtihin a district on the basis of educational needs rather than standardized units. Inequitable distribution of funds adversely affects both the quality and the range of educational programs and services provided to students.

To be effective, specifically in relation to the Urban League's constituents, school finance reforms must extend to each individual classroom and student. Accordingly, it is imperative that decision-making be centered at the local school level. Effective decision-making cannot exist in the absence of effective school-based management.

Therefore, the National Urban League strongly advocates that public education be financed by a system of progressive taxation which distributes tax monies equitably among school districts regardless of the tax base of the specific district, and urges school districts to implement a school-based management system which utilizes budgeting systems based on the educational needs of the students. Such a management system provides for more effective decision-making at the local school site and makes the school the primary center of responsibility and accountability in meeting the unique needs of its children.

PRESENTED TO THE 1976 DELEGATE ASSEMBLY
Wednesday, August 4, 1976
Boston, Massachusetts

School Integration

The National Urban League reaffirms its total commitment to the Urban Education Statement of Concern adopted by the 1975 Delegate Assembly in Atlanta, Georgia.

In addition, we call upon national and local elected officials, law enforcement officials and community leaders to provide unequivocal enforcement of court decisions calling for school integration. The violence which has occurred in Boston is to be deplored. We call upon parents, educational, political and other leaders and citizens from all walks of life to utilize their full influence to peaceful school integration.

The National Urban League and its 105 affiliates will continue to work vigorously in our local communities to implement effective school integration. We urge all presidential candidates to commit themselves to the total implementation of court decisions supporting school integration and, if elected, use the moral leadership of the Presidency to create a climate for constructive and peaceful school integration.

The National Urban League deplores any attempt by governmental officials or community leadership to acquiesce to pressure from racist elements as a smokescreen to avoid their legal and moral responsibility. We urge all city officials to exercise their full authority in pursuit of equal educational opportunities for all public school students.

200

PRESENTED TO THE 1976 DELEGATE ASSEMBLY
Wednesday, August 4, 1976
Boston, Massachusetts

School Pushouts/Dropouts

The National Urban League reaffirms its total commitment to the problem of pushouts and dropouts as contained in the Statement of Concern addressed by the Delegate Assembly in Washington, D.C. in 1973. The pushout problem is one that affects all sectors of the American community, especially our metropolitan urban communities. Each year tens of thousands of high school students are pushed or dropped out of our educational systems prematurely.

Pushouts or dropouts comprise a sizeable portion of our unemployed, unskilled, unhealthy and politically unsophisticated population. The problem is compounded by the fact that a huge percentage of this pushout or dropout population can be classified as functionally illiterate and is, therefore, ill equipped to compete in our highly technical job market.

As Urban Leaguers concerned about the well-being of our fellow man, we must bring attention to this problem. We must request sustained funding from our state and federal governments to implement pushout and dropout prevention programs in all of our school systems.

Contradictions in attendance patterns — an increase in the number of persons completing high school and increasing numbers of pushouts and dropouts — is perplexing. The National Urban League's own experience in operating Street Academies in a variety of urban communities provides concrete evidence that pushouts and dropouts can successfully complete their high school education and go on to have a meaningful post-secondary experience.

Therefore, the National Urban League calls on school boards throughout our nation to ascertain to what extent antiquated teaching methods and obsolete regulations push students out of school.

Concurrently, the Boards of Education should plan, adopt and implement a pushout/dropout prevention program designed to reduce significantly the pushout/-dropout problem and to eliminate the syndrome. Citizens must be urged to fully support efforts to solve this alarming problem.

PRESENTED TO THE 1976 DELEGATE ASSEMBLY
Wednesday, August 4, 1976
Boston, Massachusetts

Urban Policy

The National Urban League affirms its strong conviction that our urban civilization is endangered by the continuing crisis of the cities. Within the past year the already serious situation of America's cities, plagued by unemployment, poverty, inferior housing and education, deteriorating environment and rising crime, has worsened. To these problems has been added the crushing fiscal pressures that have already brought our largest city, New York, to its knees and threatened the ability of countless other cities to function in the best interests of their citizens.

Contrary to popular assumptions that the problems of the cities are local concerns, the National Urban League recognizes the urban condition as a national problem that demands formulation of national solutions by the federal government. All levels of government — city, state and federal — should cooperate in once more making our cities gateways of opportunity and centers of our society's cultural and economic life.

Such a goal demands realistic federal financial support for programs aimed at revitalizing cities, reducing unemployment and poverty, and providing opportunities for urban centers to rebuild the sense of community that binds citizens together. It also demands from federal, state and local governments the ingenuity to refashion the urban environment to encourage citizen initiatives to improve local services, health and education opportunities, and to reduce disparities based on race and income.

The National Urban League therefore urges our national leadership to make the state of the cities a priority on our national agenda and to resolve to pursue programs and policies that will reverse the decline of our cities and their people.

202

PRESENTED TO THE 1976 DELEGATE ASSEMBLY
Wednesday, August 4, 1976
Boston, Massachusetts

Housing

The nation continues to be plagued with the lack of adequate housing for low-income persons as well as the lack of comprehensive national policies to correct this situation. The National Urban League has on many occasions expressed its concern about the lack of a comprehensive housing program. We feel that any effective housing program must include consumer considerations such as ability to pay for housing and desires for rental or ownership tenure. It must also consider the supply of housing — how quality can be maintained at reasonable cost and how the location of housing relates to job opportunities. It must also include affirmative actions in equal opportunities, housing counseling and information services and empowerment of neighborhoods to secure and coordinate neighborhood conservation tools such as property management and rehabilitation, code enforcement and targeted mortgage and home improvement investments.

Not only is the nation lacking a comprehensive housing policy, it is totally uncommitted to developing an effective national housing policy. Instead of pusuing a national housing policy, the federal government has provided certain tools and supports to localities which may be used to develop local housing policies and actions. Among these tools are the Community Development Block Grant Program, with its Housing Assistance Plans, and affirmative action provisions of the Fair Housing Law.

The National Urban League condemns the abandonment of housing policy leadership by the federal government. On the other hand, we accept the development of local policy responsibilities to the limit of local capacities as a precursor to the development of a comprehensive national policy. We cannot abandon disadvantaged households to the whims or dictates of national powers.

The development and implementation of local housing policies depends on mutual actions and coordination between all parts of the housing industry, local government and neighborhood and community groups.

Urban Leagues are ideally suited to provide leadership in the development of cooperative strategies. A "brokering" function between elements of need and of resource is necessary in housing. Urban Leagues may be housing brokers as they have been employment brokers between industry and unemployed or underemployed minority group members.

The National Urban League calls on the federal government, local government, employers, and the housing industry, including bankers, brokers and builders, to recognize the special functionality of Urban Leagues and to cooperate with Urban Leagues in the development of affirmative action plans to make decent, reasonably priced housing available to minority citizens.

We call on all levels of government to support Urban League research and fact-finding vis-a-vis the availability of housing for minorities.

We call on employers to participate in actions to serve the housing needs of employees.

PRESENTED TO THE 1976 DELEGATE ASSEMBLY
Wednesday, August 4, 1976
Boston, Massachusetts

United Way

Many local United Ways are undergoing a change in philosophy. Rather than operating as "member agencies banding together in the Community Chest to meet their own financial needs", they are taking on a much larger role which calls for them to carry out the following tasks:

- Fund Raising
- Planning
- Fund Allocation
- Evaluation

These tasks when carried out within the framework of the Priority Planning Process advocated by the United Way of America have the potential of negatively impacting the local Urban League planning process and funding by having program and service decisions made by groups other than Urban League contituency, board and staff.

If used improperly, the various local modifications of the United Way of America Services Identification System UWASIS are a potential threat to the well-being of Urban League affiliates and thus the National Urban Legue. This should be a major focus of concern and action by the National Urban League movement.

Recognizing and highlighting the pitfalls of a Priority Planning Process does not in any way mean that the Urban League denigrates or minimizes the need for either community planning or accountability. But rather, that we must guard our own freedom to relate to and address the specialized and difficult problems of our constituency.

PRESENTED TO THE 1976 DELEGATE ASSEMBLY
Wednesday, August 4, 1976
Boston, Massachusetts

Southern Africa

For too long Africa has been a world area neglected in foreign policy consideration by the United States Government. In recent months our nation undertook a disastrous course in Angola, intervening covertly in that nation's internal political situation and encouraging South Africa's aggression into that sovereign state. More recently new foreign policiy pronouncement indicated that the United States would attempt to establish better relations with Africa and would support the principle of majority rule in Southern Africa.

We believe that it is vitally important that the United States change its historic relationship to the African continent, an ancestral homeland for millions of Black Americans. Millions of citizens of African descent are extremely concerned and saddened by the police killings of the schoolchildren of Soweto and other South African townships.

We urge that the United States Government take immediate steps to support attainment of majority rule in Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa through adherence to economic and arms santions and by exerting influence on U.S. corporations operating in Africa and provide greater leverage in our efforts to bring about a new policy direction in Southern Africa.

PRESENTED TO THE 1976 DELEGATE ASSEMBLY
Wednesday, August 4, 1976
Boston, Massachusetts

Regulatory Agencies And the Rights Of the Consumer

Regulatory agencies were created in a time when the need to protect the rights of the consumer was clearly identified as a national priority. Like Topsy, those agencies have grown, without control and without guidance. They seem to have forgotten their original mandates and have become as much a part of the bureaucracy as the bureaucracies they were supposed to regulate. In too many instances, regulators have become bed partners of the regulatees. Consumers and their concern have become secondary, if not tertiary. Unable to make inroads into the cumbersome and burdensome regulatory processes, consumers have become the unwilling victims of oligopolies. Consumers have been unable to penetrate either the decision-making processes of the regulatees or the hydra-headed regulatory bodies which perform administrative and judicial, as well as regulatory, functions. Consumers have been unable to compete with the vast resources which industry expends on articulating its points of view.

In a time when major political parties, national organizations, the Congress, and the Executive Branch of government are calling for less but more responsive government, all must recognize that saying it does not make it so. Last year's hard fought, but valiantly lost battle over the establishment of a Consumer Protection Agency must be re-fought. Since 1969, the Congress has been struggling with various versions of a Consumer Protection Agency. Now it is time for enactment. Now it is time for response from all levels of government, in recognition of the legitimate interests of the consumers of this nation. Now is the time for leadership.

206

Exhibitors 1976

207

Exhibitors

ABBOTT LABORATORIES
ACTION
ALCOHOL DRUG ABUSE
AND MENTAL HEALTH ADMINISTRATION (DHEW)
ALLSTATE INSURANCE COMPANY
AMALGAMATED CLOTHING
AND TEXTILE WORKERS UNION
AMERICAN AIRLINES
AMERICAN CYANAMID COMPANY
AMERICAN EXPRESS COMPANY
AMERICAN GAS ASSOCIATION
AMERICAN HOSPITAL ASSOCIATION
AMERICAN INSTITUTE
OF CERTIFIED PUBLIC ACCOUNTANTS (AICPA)
AMERICAN LEARNING SYSTEMS
AMERICAN NATIONAL RED CROSS (THE)
AMERICAN TELEPHONE AND TELEGRAPH COMPANY
AMERICAN TOBACCO COMPANY
ANHEUSER-BUSCH, INC.
ARA FOOD SERVICES COMPANY
ARMOUR-DIAL (A Subsidiary of The Greyhound Corp.)
ARMY ROTC
ATLANTIC RICHFIELD COMPANY
AVON PRODUCTS, INC.

BETHLEHEM STEEL CORPORATION
BOSTON GLOBE
BRISTOL-MYERS COMPANY
BROWN-WILLIAMSON TOBACCO COMPANY
BURGER KING CORPORATION

CARNATION COMPANY
CBS, INC.
CELANESE CORPORATION (Sponsor of
N.Y. Urban League Open Housing Center Booth)
CHESEBROUGH-PONDS, INC.
CHRYSLER CORPORATION
CIBA-GEIGY CORPORATION
COCA-COLA U.S.A.
COMMUNITY RELATIONS SERVICE–
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SATELLITE CORPORATION (COMSAT)
CONNECTICUT GENERAL LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY
CONTROL DATA CORPORATION
CPC INTERNATIONAL (Sponsor of
Council of Urban League Guilds Booth)

DELTA AIRLINES, INC.
DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION AND WELFARE–
OFFICE FOR CIVIL RIGHTS
DIGITAL EQUIPMENT CORPORATION

EASTERN AIRLINES, INC
EASTMAN KODAK COMPANY
EDISON ELECTRIC INSTITUTE
EQUIFAX, INC.
EQUITABLE LIFE ASSURANCE SOCIETY
OF THE UNITED STATES
ESSENCE COMMUNICATIONS

FEDERAL ENERGY ADMINISTRATION
FORD MOTOR COMPANY

GENERAL DYNAMICS CORPORATION
GENERAL ELECTRIC COMPANY
GENERAL FOODS CORPORATION
GENERAL MILLS, INC.
GENERAL MOTORS CORPORATION
GENERAL PUBLIC UTILITIES
GESTETNER COMPANY

208

Exhibitors (continued)

GILLETTE COMPANY (THE)
GIRL SCOUTS OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
GOODYEAR TIRE AND RUBBER COMPANY (THE)
GREAT ATLANTIC AND PACIFIC TEA COMPANY (THE)
GULF OIL COMPANY (Sponsor of
The National Urban League Health Division Booth)

HALLMARK CARDS, INC.
HARBRIDGE HOUSE, INC
HARTFORD INSURANCE GROUP (THE)
HARVARD UNIVERSITY
HEUBLEIN, INC. (Sponsor of
the Boston Community Cultural Program)
HONEYWELL CORPORATION
HOUGHTON MIFFLIN COMPANY
HOWARD UNIVERSITY PRESS

INTERNATIONAL BUSINESS MACHINES CORP. (IBM)
INTERNAL REVENUE SERVICE
ITT CONTINENTAL BAKING COMPANY
INTERNATIONAL HARVESTER COMPANY
INTERNATIONAL TELEPHONE AND TELEGRAPH CO.
INTERNATIONAL UNION OF OPERATING ENGINEERS

JOHNSON AND JOHNSON FAMILY OF COMPANIES
JOHNSON PRODUCTS COMPANY

KAISER ALUMINUM AND CHEMICAL CORPORATION

LEVER BROTHERS COMPANY (Sponsor of
Women's Component-National Urban League
Labor Affairs Division Booth)
LIBBEY-OWENS-FORD COMPANY
LIBERTY MUTUAL INSURANCE COMPANY
LIGGETT AND MYERS COMPANY
LOCKHEED AIRCRAFT CORPORATION

McDONALD SYSTEMS, INC.
McGRAW-HILL COMPANY
MELVILLE SHOE CORPORATION
MARITIME ADMINISTRATION–DEPT. OF COMMERCE
MERCK AND COMPANY
METROPOLITAN LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY
MILLER BREWING COMPANY
MONTGOMERY COUNTY PUBLIC SCHOOLS
MUTUAL OF OMAHA INSURANCE COMPANY

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT
OF COLORED PEOPLE (NAACP)
NABISCO, INC.
NATIONAL AERONAUTICS AND SPACE ADMINISTRATION
(NASA)
NATIONAL GUARD BUREAU
NATIONAL MEDICAL FELLOWSHIPS
NESTLE COMPANY (THE)
NEW ENGLAND MERCHANTS NATIONAL BANK
NORTHWEST AIRLINES, INC.

OMBE INFORMATION CENTER

JCPENNEY COMPANY, INC.
PEPSICO, INC.
PHILIP MORRIS, INC.
PILLSBURY COMPANY (THE)
PITNEY BOWES, INC.
POLAROID CORPORATION
PPG INDUSTRIES
PRENTICE-HALL, INC.
PRUDENTIAL LIFE INSURANCE CO. OF AMERICA (THE)

Exhibitors (continued)

RALSTON PURINA COMPANY
RCA CORPORATION
R. J. REYNOLDS INDUSTRIES, INC.
ROCKWELL INTERNATIONAL
RYDER SYSTEM, INC.

JOS. SCHLITZ BREWING COMPANY
SCIENCE RESEARCH ASSOCIATES
SEAGRAM DISTILLERS COMPANY
SEARS, ROEBUCK AND COMPANY
SEVEN-UP COMPANY (THE)
SHELL OIL COMPANY
SHINDANA TOYS
SINGER COMPANY (THE)
SOMERSET IMPORTERS LTD.
SPERRY UNIVAC
STANDARD OIL OF INDIANA
STATE FARM INSURANCE COMPANIES
STERLING DRUG, INC.
SUN OIL COMPANY
SUNSHINE BISCUITS, INC.
SUPERMARKETS GENERAL CORPORATION

TEXACO, INC.
TEXTRON, INC.
3M COMPANY
TIME INCORPORATED
TRANS WORLD AIRLINES, INC.
TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE

UNITED AIRLINES
U.S. AIR FORCE
U.S. ARMY RECRUITING COMMAND
U.S. ARMY RESERVE
U.S. FOOD AND DRUG ADMINISTRATION
U.S. BUREAU OF THE CENSUS
U.S. CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION
U.S. COAST GUARD
U.S. CONSUMER PRODUCT SAFETY COMMISSION
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE
(Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service)
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE
(Farmers Home Administration)
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE
(Food and Nutrition Service)
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214

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